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A HISTORY

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.

BY

DR. A. HAUSRATH,
ORDINARY PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG.

THE TIME OF JESUS.

VOL. I.

TRANSLATED, WITH THE AUTHOR'S SANCTION, FROM THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION, BY

CHARLES T. POYNTING, B.A., & PHILIP QUENZER.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;
AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1878.

1782

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. GREEN AND SON,
178, STRAND.

THE TIME OF JESUS.

VOL. I.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE History of the New Testament Times is now presented to the reader in a revised and enlarged edition. The latter part of the work, especially, has at the same time been much altered under the influence of Dr. Keim's Jesus of Nazara.

In the plan of the book nothing has been altered. The aim in view is still to present a history of the development of culture in the times of Jesus and the writers of the New Testament, so far as this development had a direct influence upon the rise of Christianity; and then to give the history of this rise itself, so far as it can be treated as an objective history, and not as a subjective religious process.

The author, in the Preface to the first edition, wrote as follows:

"What we call the sacred history, is the presentation of only the most prominent points of a far broader historical life. The history of the Old Testament has always been treated in connection with the history of Israel; while, on the other hand, the attempt to give a connected presentation of all the historical circumstances which form the basis of the New Testament history and literature, was not made before the time of Dr. Matthew Schneckenburger, owing to the dissimilar character of the materials. For the New Testament history is not like that of the Old Testament, member of one single national development, but displays itself in various territories, and enters into the most

diverse developments. Although the time of Jesus is connected with the confines of Jewish history, yet with every new period does its borders become wider and its perspective more extensive. We have to commence our narrative at the time when affairs in general present themselves in the form reflected by the Gospels. Thus we find ourselves thrown into the first period of the Roman dominion in Judæa. It will be our task to describe this period, so far as its events stand in either direct or indirect relations to the chief religious facts of the New Testament.

"In doing this, there will be no necessity to attempt the useless task of tracing the origin of Christianity itself from the transitory relations of the period. There were at other times, also, favourable relations, operative conditions, and circumstances tending irresistibly to catastrophes, and yet no new religion proceeded from them, because the creative and moulding Spirit was not present in the chaos. Christianity in its essence is the work, not of circumstances, but of Christ. But the personal life, this creative point around which the seething elements are gathered, and that gives form to the molten metal that otherwise becomes dross, this is ever the immediate act of God, which cannot be farther explained or derived. Here is the thread to be sought for which connects things immediately with God. Yet no one will fall into the error of supposing that this sacred history is not a part of the history of the time. It has not been phantasmagorically reflected down from Heaven upon the background of actual history, but has been developed as an actual part of actual history, and amidst the most vigorous reciprocal efforts with the given conditions of the time; although we have been accustoming ourselves to consider it apart from its original connection, as though it were the course of a divine revelation which passed

over all the historical occurrences as well as the life of that generation. Thus the task has arisen of again uniting this New Testament history to the chronological connections in which it stood when it was the present; to observe it, not, indeed, as a product, but yet as a part of a more general historical process; to present it as those who experienced it knew it, mingled and confused with thoroughly secular circumstances.

"In this view of our task there lies, however, a two-fold limitation. Not everything which occurred in the two centuries which we have designated by the name of the 'New Testament Times,' can be an object of our study, but only those which stand in connection with the New Testament history. But this history is not, in and for itself, the object of our description; we are concerned only with it in its relation to the time. That this side of the subject also can demand attention, will be denied by none.

"Such an attempt certainly must hold itself, from the first, opposed to both the magical and the mythical derivation of Christianity. Within a purely historical presentation there is no room for the poetical world of the religious Saga; its images fade away when thrown before a clear historical background. The sharper the boundary of terrestrial things is drawn, the less is the place found for good and evil angels. But even that assumption which supposes that the concrete life of the New Testament history is only the mythical figure of the phantasy of a later time, does not find here any support. If we can demonstrate that the sacred history is a fragment of universal history and show how the edges fit, if we can again gather up the broken threads which unite it with the secular world, then the supposition that this history is the beautiful dream of a later generation is excluded.

"Of materials for the solution of this problem there is no want. How things appeared from the standpoint of the upper classes, is best described by Josephus in the palace of the Flavians near the Septizonium; how the ordinary man found them, is known by the expressions of the first Christian communities. The task is to see the circumstances described by Josephus with the eyes of the Evangelists, and from their experiences to complete them; and also to read the narratives of the Gospels in connection with the historical circumstances described by Josephus. So far as the current of the narrative permits, it is the intention of the writer to allow the sources themselves to speak.

"The task, as the writer therefore understands it, is from its very nature a positive one. Not only do the events, considered historically, rest upon a firm foundation, since they are taken in connection with historically certain data, but the figures of the sacred history stand out in sharper outlines when we paint the pale background of the historical circumstances with the deeper colours with which the hand of Josephus especially supplies us. A pleasure in negative results will be found by none in this book. To the writer's eye, the negative pictures of criticism usually present themselves as positive ones; perhaps often too quickly so. But in any case, for him criticism has value only as means of correction; of negation, never. This will not prevent those who regard the industry and earnest work of our theological tendency only as a species of that obstinacy with which sin adheres to sin, or at the most as the course of headstrong vanity, from pouring out the vials of their wrath upon this book. These people make the mistake of supposing that the present theological position is the mere arbitrary product of some few individuals, and that they can prevent any alteration being made, if only they will exert themselves to embitter the lives of certain

theologians. Theology, on its side, is not responsible for this position. To the more exact knowledge of the times and home of primitive Christianity, orientalists, classical philologists and travellers in Palestine have made the most valuable contributions, and thus it has happened that much must now be taken in connection with historical ideas and relations which formerly was accepted as revelation. What is in Philo, Josephus and the Rabbis, historical theology, cannot immediately become in the Apostles inspiration. This situation is the product of the development of the last few decades; it is not we who have made it. It has always happened that the first attempts to substitute a more adequate method of presenting the fundamental religious facts for the traditional, have immediately raised the suspicion that religion itself was being injured. On this point also we find ourselves to-day upon historical ground."

Although holding fast by this standpoint to-day, yet we cannot deny that in many other respects our first attempts to give a purely historical treatment of the commencement of our religion was somewhat unsatisfactory.

The splendid manner in which Ferdinand Christian Baur attempted this same task, some thirty years ago, is well known. Never has the internal criticism of historical sources been treated in a more lofty manner than, for example, in his Church History of the First Three Centuries. In this work the collected literary materials were sifted, and its position allotted to every part; and thus the old ecclesiastical history became pre-eminently a history of literature. But the presentation of the literary process is only a part of the work to be accomplished. Literary monuments are always only a casual deposit of historical movements, not these movements themselves. After the contest about theological conceptions which presents itself more espe-

cially in literature, there remain rich historical materials, which had little interest for Baur. The true motive power of Christianity was not its theology, but the strong religious and moral impulse which proceeded from Jesus himself. The rest is merely local and individual. Much, too, was developed from the relations of the young Church to the century and the state. To complete the picture of theological movements which Baur has so splendidly described, upon this side, is the task which historical theology has inherited from the mighty dead. An attempt to bring out the historical connection interwoven between the primitive Church and its age, was first undertaken by Renan. But just as certainly as he who needs the mechanical impulse of miracle as an explanation of the conquest of Christianity over the powers of its age, has *not* comprehended its internal pre-eminence, so neither has he who seeks to explain that great movement by any of the childish vehicles used by Renan. Various kinds of idyllic situations, foolish coincidents, innocent deceits, cannot make a new theory of life. History, more especially the religious, declines such a petty derivation.

What is needed is rather such a comprehension of the internal pre-eminence of Christianity over the theories and tendencies of its age, that its course can be understood without recourse to the crutches of miracles and convenient coincidences. Certainly, there must be above all a religious understanding, which has a proper sense of the power of the factors here at work. When an irreligiousness which is self-conscious and founded on principle undertakes to write "A Life of Jesus," it at once becomes apparent that, in order to understand a founder of religion, one must oneself be religious; just as much as to compose a useful history of music, one must be musical. Only on the supposition that he was not able to appreciate the power of religion, can we

explain the strange judgment of David Strauss, that all the true and good things uttered by Jesus are scarcely worthy of regard when compared with the results of the belief in the resurrection; so that, *historically considered,* this must be declared to be the greatest historic humbug which ever occurred. Thus it was considered possible *historically* to derive a revolution like that of Christianity from an illusion. When the one theory refutes the other, it is because it rests upon *internal* grounds; and where those are wanting, neither actual nor invented miracles can turn the course of the world's history. But for him who places no value upon the power of religious impulse, all the mighty revolutions in the world's history proceeding from this source remain unintelligible; and because he sees movements whose motive power he cannot recognize, the whole of the antecedents appear to him to be—humbug! Such a conception may be interesting, but it cannot be called *historic.*

An historical view of Christianity is that alone which understands the conquest of Christianity as *internally necessary.* To this task this present book offers a contribution, in so far as it describes the events of that great epoch, and at the same time attempts to picture how this age itself appeared in the little religious circles. Should it at times seem as though the history of the period was transformed into a New Testament history, this will be excused on the ground that the external influences of the time upon the young Church were always conditioned by its own internal development. The present conclusion of the whole work will assure the reader that the author remains conscious of his plan.

A. HAUSRATH.

HEIDELBERG, *April 1st,* 1873.

TRANSLATORS' NOTE.

In order to make this work more useful to our readers, whenever an English edition or translation exists of works referred to in the notes, the reference given is to the English edition. Thus all the references to Robinson in this translation will be found in the second edition of Dr. Robinson's "Biblical Researches in Palestine" (London: John Murray, 1856). Those to the Pirqe Aboth will be found in "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," by Charles Taylor, M.A. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1877). The references to Josephus are those of the edition of Didot: Paris, MDCCCXLV, which will be found to correspond to those of Whiston's Translation, with very few exceptions. Those of the Bible are to the English Bible. When practicable, the words of the Authorized Version have been preserved. It has at times been found necessary to depart from this Version in order to preserve the meaning of the original. Great assistance has been obtained in this work from "The Holy Bible," edited, with various Renderings and Readings, by Revds. T. K. Cheyne, R. L. Clarke, S. R. Driver, and Alfred Goodman: London, 1876.

The references to the Psalms of Solomon will be found in the "Messias Judæorum" of Dr. Hilgenfeld, Leipzig, 1868; to Enoch, in "Das Buch Enoch" of Dr. A. Dillmann, Leipzig, 1853; and to the Sibylline Oracles, in "Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen, vollständig Gesammelt," von Dr. J. H. Friedlieb, Leipzig, 1852.

The reader is requested to make the following corrections:

Page 89, note 1. The reference to "Jesus of Nazara," Theological Translation Fund Library, i. 433, is to the German edition. The reference to the English is ii. 157.

Page 99, note 1. For Philo, De curit, read De carit.

Page 111. The reference to note 1 is Berachot, bab. 61 a. At line 16 from the top of the page, at the word "out," read note 2, a reference to Philo, de profugis i. Mang. 554.

Page 191. Line 22 from top, for "were the first which enabled," read "were those which at last enabled."

Page 200. Line 17 from top, for "deceived," read "undeceived;" and line 26 from top, for "by the most celebrated Rabbis," read "of the most celebrated Rabbis."

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First Division.

THE HOLY LAND AT THE TIME OF JESUS.

THE HOLY LAND AT THE TIME OF JESUS.

1. GALILEE.

THE land of the Jews lies immediately before the final setting of its political existence once more clearly in the light of history. Josephus, the classic authority of this period, has narrated all the circumstances with an affection which is felt for one's own country only when it has been lost for ever. The Roman historians speak with the ardour with which an intense hatred inspires them. The Christian sources everywhere describe the land the more faithfully because unconsciously.

Let us begin our journey in the north, where on the west the broad and even ridge of Lebanon, and on the east the lofty heights of Hermon, covered by eternal snow, form the natural and historical frontiers of the country.

Towards Lebanon, the deep and rocky valley of the foaming LEONTES has drawn an irremovable boundary between the countries, which through all the centuries, therefore, has remained the same. The district of ULATHA and PANEAS, not being enclosed in this way, runs up into the valleys of Hermon.

Upon the elevated terraces of this mountain was situated in the time of Jesus the newly-built CÆSAREA PHILIPPI, the most northerly town of the land of the Jews, lying back in a gorge of Mount Hermon, which towers majestically behind it to the clouds. On the declivity of the mountain, a thousand feet above the

town, stands the ancient fortress, "the tower of Lebanon, which looketh towards Damascus."[1] This district, to which Mount Panios gave its name, and that from the year 19 B.C. had been again united to the kingdom of Herod, had by the poets of the Song of Solomon and the Psalms been celebrated for its forests and rushing streams;[2] and now, too, was most highly esteemed on account of its fresh mountain meadows and smiling fields, as was testified by the fact that here were the Sanctuary of Pan and the marble temple of Augustus, and that to it were assigned the proud names of Cæsarea and Neronias,—names through which the tetrarchs Philip and Agrippa manifested their devotion in thus offering the town as their most valued possession to the master of the world.[3]

Beneath the steep declivities of these highlands a marshy plain extends, upon which grow immense flags and sedges, giving rise to a miasmal atmosphere that no inhabitants can endure.[4] The Jordan finds a languid course through this marsh on its way to the weed-covered LAKE OF MEROM. The inhabitants of Galilee only visited this district as a hunting-ground, in order to chase the wild boar and buffalo, which, collected in herds, rejoiced in its marshy thickets. Otherwise the country was shunned, because robbers as well as political exiles were accustomed to find refuge in the impassable morasses and thickets of reeds.[5] It is below the lake of Merom that the district first becomes habitable again, and here a tolerably active traffic commences, in that the caravan road, which runs from Damascus to Ptolemais, crosses the Jordan in this place, in the neighbourhood of the present Jacob's-bridge, and descends to the lake of Tiberias.

The real life and business of the district also was found here, and the LAKE OF TIBERIAS can with good reason be called the eye of Galilee. At that time, even more than at the present day, was the full splendour of a southern climate exhibited there. In

[1] Song Sol. vii. 4. [2] Song Sol. iv. 8, vii. 5; Ps. xlii. 6, &c.
[3] Jos. Bell. i. 21, 3, ii. 9, 1; Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 4.
[4] Jos. Bell. iii. 10, 7; Robinson, Palestine, ii. 434. [5] Bell. i. 16, 5.

exquisite contrast, the blue surface of the lake lies embosomed in the yellow limestone mountains. The shores smile in a lovely profusion of flowers, and only on the eastern side does the barren and gloomy precipice stand forth with its naked and dismal-looking basaltic rocks. The most delightful spot on the lake is the plain of Gennesareth, where formerly all the fruits of Palestine ripened. The mountains, too, were not wanting in a growth of trees. Cypresses, fir-trees, almonds, pines, Scotch firs, cedars, Savin-trees, olives, myrtles, laurels, palms and balsams were mentioned by a younger contemporary of Jesus as the noblest trees of his home.[1] Here, according to Josephus, all of them throve. The district which is now barren was then one luxuriant garden. Bushes of the red blooming oleander, figs and vine-trellises and soft lawns surrounded the bank; and while stately walnut-trees and olive-groves covered the heights, on the bank slender palms waved their fan-like branches to and fro.[2]

On the lake, which is about fifteen miles long and six miles broad,[3] were situated three good-sized towns and quite a succession of villages. There, where the caravan-road meets the lake, do we find the town of Jesus, CAPERNAUM. While CHORAZIN is to be looked for on the heights near the outflow of the Jordan into the lake, and BETHSAIDA on its banks towards the north, DALMANUTHA and MAGDALA are to be found at the southern end. The houses and streets of these places we must picture to ourselves as resembling those of oriental ones of the present day, and not after the analogy of the Græco-Roman architecture; for where the latter prevails, as, for example, in Zebulon, Josephus finds it necessary to inform us expressly of the fact.[4] It was different in TIBERIAS, which Antipas had built to the north of the hot springs of Emmaus in the Roman style. The lake, which as a rule only looked upon uniform Syrian huts and plain four-

[1] Jubil, 21 (Göttg. Jahrbuch. 1851, p. 19). [2] Bell. iii. 10, 7, 8.

[3] Robinson, ii. p. 417, gives the length as only twelve miles; Stanley, Sinai and Pal. p. 367, as thirteen miles.

[4] Bell. ii. 18, 9.

cornered synagogues, here reflected proud Grecian colonnades and Roman arches, and palaces adorned with sculptures, the beauty of which could afford no pleasure, certainly, to the Jewish eye. Still the town was also distinguished as possessing a stately synagogue, in whose immense Basilica meetings of the people were held during the period of the revolution.[1] A larger town and of more Jewish character was TARICHÆA, which lay at the southern end of the lake. Here, where the Jordan flows out of Gennesareth, which is one of the most fish-abounding lakes in the whole world, the trade of fisherman was a very prosperous one. Pickled in barrels, the fish of Tarichæa were sent far and wide.[2] The Gospels, too, are aware of this busy fish-trade. The vessels sail up and down;[3] the fishermen in their boats set their nets to right with the help of assistants,[4] or glide busily over the surface with their nets spread out to dry.[5] The number of boats upon the lake was so great, that in the Jewish war a formal engagement took place before Tarichæa between the fishing-boats of the Jews and the rafts of the Romans.[6]

The eastern side is bounded by the steep and barren declivities of the mountains of Gaulanitis, the feet of which run out right into the lake. Below JULIAS, which was situated upon both banks of the Jordan above its outflow into the lake, are GERGESA, GAMALA and HIPPOS, the most important places upon the farther bank. The smiling fields of the bank-side are continued for some considerable distance into the plains of Jordan to the south of Tarichæa and Hippos. The Jordan waters the valley by means of its sinuous windings and the multitude of its tributaries that run down into it, on the west from the table-land of Tabor and the mountains of Gilboa, and on the east from the steep terraces of the mountains of Gaulanitis. Where the plain is most fruitful, and a broad valley, green with woods through which the clear stream of the (Dschalud) Jâlûd roars, leads up to SCYTHOPOLIS, one of the towns of the Decapolis, there we stand upon

[1] Jos. Vita, 54. [2] Strabo, 16, 2. [3] Matt. viii. 23, xiv. 13.
[4] Matt. iv. 21. [5] Luke v. 4, 6. [6] Bell. iii. 10, 9.

the frontier of Galilee.[1] The part of Galilee which rises on the west of the valley of the Jordan is an undulating hilly country, that only in the north attains any considerable elevation. Towards Lebanon the forests are wild and extensive, while in the middle and southern districts there is a deficiency of trees, but not of verdant dales and fruitful table-lands. The northern boundary descends rapidly towards the Leontes, while the western boundary descends somewhat more gently towards the sea-coast. From this north-western declivity the eye looked down directly upon the venerable TYRE and the white sands of the coast which divide the blue sea from the mountains. As now the steamboats, so then the high-built triremes and stately "ships of Tarshish" attracted attention as they glided up and down along the coast. Farther to the south towards ECDIPPA, the mountains recede from the coast, and give place to the considerable plain of PTOLEMAIS, as far as the wooded cape of Carmel, that at the southern boundary of Galilee descends precipitously into the sea.

The glittering sands of the coast, Tyre made gloomy by its dye-works and factories, the smoking chimneys of the glass-works, the busy commercial life,—all remind us that there the Hebrew world ceases, and that of the Phœnicio-Grecian with its interests begins. On the other hand, in the hilly district between the valley of the Jordan and the sea-coast, a number of important Jewish villages are situated—as GISCALA, HAZOR, RAMAH, GABARA, ZEBULON, JOTAPATA, JAPHA, CANA, RIMMON, SEPPHORIS, NAZARETH, SIMONIAS, and GABATHA.

From the western declivity of these heights we look over towards CARMEL, whose line of hills, running towards the south-west, formed the boundary of Galilee, which continued over the southern end of the plain of ESDRAELON away towards the mountains of GILBOA, at whose eastern declivity it reached SCYTHOPOLIS. This champaign—which was bounded by the wooded heights of Carmel and over-towered in the north by the peak of

[1] Plin. 5, 16; Bell. ii. 18, 3; Robinson, Vol. iii. 331.

Tabor, rich in flowers, through which, too, the KISHON, the ancient river, winds like a thread of silver—was the real market of Galilee, and the historic ground upon which all the great battles of Israel had been fought. "A river of battles is the river Kishon,"[1] was said even at the time of the Judges. With each of the hills around are connected ancient traditions. In the south, LEGIO, the ancient MEGIDDO;[2] in the east, JEZREEL, with the vineyard of Naboth, and the tower where the dogs devoured the body of Jezebel; to the north, situated on another line of hills, the village SHUNEM, which Elijah sometimes used to visit, and where was the dwelling of the beautiful Abishag, the most beautiful woman in the kingdom of David.

At the back are concealed the hills of ENDOR, where Saul called up the shade of Samuel. Certainly, these mountains must then have presented a blooming appearance, very different from the present, when, according to the poet's description, the beautiful Shulamite went down into the garden of nuts "to see the fruits of the valley, and to see whether the vine flourished and the pomegranates budded;" when lilies could be gathered on the plain, and balsam-espaliers and vine-trellises surrounded the gardens.[3]

With the plain of Jezreel, Galilee ends. We enter the district, at the commencement of our period, to find it thronged with towns, villages and hamlets; we leave it at its end covered with ruins. Josephus enumerates in it two hundred and four townships, and fifteen fortified places.[4] According to his account, which is, however, incredible, the population on these from ninety to a hundred square miles must have amounted to more than 3,000,000.[5] Moreover, the Gospels introduce us to a thickly-

[1] Judges v. 21.

[2] Revelation xvi. 16.

[3] Song of Sol. vi. 11, vii. 12.

[4] Bell. ii. 20, 6; Vita, 37, 45.

[5] Bell. iii. 3, 2. Although it is inconceivable that a man like Josephus, who is supposed to have had command of an army of 100,000 men, should not have had a thorough knowledge of enumeration, yet his accounts of numbers are throughout in themselves impossible. In no part of the world in a mountainous country, especially in chalk mountains, have there been 30,000 human beings to the square mile: in the

populated country, and in more than one scene allow us to gather that, at least in lower Galilee, the population is confined and presses upon itself, and that all interests are associated together.[1]

Towns, villages and farmsteads are mentioned by Mark as lying on the declivity of the Galilean mountains.[2] No spot of land was, according to Josephus, without an owner,[3] and owing to the excessive subdivision of the ground, the spade had often displaced the plough.[4] The meadows were ploughed up for sowing. "No small beasts," says the Talmud,[5] "are bred in Israel, nor even in Syria and the deserts of the land of Judah." This means that tillage repaid the farmer. The heavy soil of the plain of Jezreel produces excellent maize and wheat; on the declivities a fiery wine is grown, and olives and rape-fields produce rich crops.[6] Men waded in oil, said the Rabbis, in their hyperbolical manner.[7] In the tropical climate of the deep valley-hollows of Gennesareth, the Indian banana and the balsam shrub grew. Indigo grows even now at Magdala, which the Talmud at that time called the town of dyers. "The land," Josephus informs us with pride, of his former province, "never suffered for want of inhabitants, for it is fertile and full of meadows, where trees of every kind grow, and promises a rich reward through its luxuriant fruitfulness to even the most miserable husbandry. The ground is most excellently tilled, and not a single plot left uncultivated. Moreover, through this ease in obtaining the means of life, the land was thickly covered with towns and numerous populous villages. The smallest of them had more than 15,000 inhabitants."[8]

The descriptions, too, in the Gospels, tell everywhere of an

most populous districts of Flanders at the present day there are only 15,000 to the square mile.

[1] Mark iii. 31, i. 35, 45, ii. 4, iii. 8, vi. 31, and other places.

[2] Mark vi. 36, 56. [3] Bell. iii. 3, 2. [4] Luke xvi. 3.

[5] Bava Kama, 7, 9. [6] Bell. ii. 21, 2.

[7] Grätz, Geschichte d. Juden, iii. 359.

[8] Bell. iii. 3, 2. This number is intelligible only when by κώμη the whole district of the town and its suburbs is understood, according to the Hebrew manner of speaking.

active life. There is toiling in the vineyards,[1] ploughing in the fields,[2] and digging in the gardens.[3] In the towns there is constant building.[4] Before the mill the mill-stone lies in readiness;[5] the barns are filled, and new ones are formed.[6] On the heights are vineyards; while apart from the townships the whitewashed grave-stones of the burial-places gleam.[7] In the highways and hedges, the blind and halt await the alms of the travellers.[8] Day labourers are hired in the market, and paid in the evening;[9] with plough reversed, the labourer takes his homeward way;[10] even at a distance from the village, the singing and dancing of the holiday-makers can be heard;[11] in the market-places the children wrangle in their sports;[12] until late at night the noise of revelry and knocking at closed doors continues.[13] The drunken steward storms and beats and otherwise misuses the maid-servants.[14] In short, from morning until night, life is boisterous and much occupied and gay, and the busy people find no time for meditating on the kingdom of God. The one has bought a piece of ground and must needs go and see it; the other must prove the oxen which have been knocked down to him; the third has other business, a feast, a funeral, or a marriage.[15] "They ate, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded, they married and were given in marriage." So does Jesus describe the restless, busy life of his native land.[16]

Yet its industrious inhabitants were little respected by the Jews, in that their nationality was of a very composite character.[17] Not only Israelites, but also Phœnicians, Syrians, Arabs, and even Greeks dwelt in the land.[18] Carmel had almost been given up to the Syrians as their own;[19] it was the same with Kades,

[1] Matt. xx. 8. [2] Luke ix. 62; Mark iv. 3. [3] Matt. xxi. 28.
[4] Matt. vii. 24; Luke xiv. 30. [5] Mark ix. 42. [6] Luke xii. 17, 18.
[7] Matt. xxiii. 27. [8] Luke xiv. 23. [9] Matt. xx. 3, 4.
[10] Luke xvii. 7. [11] Luke xv. 25. [12] Matt. xi. 16.
[13] Luke xiii. 25. [14] Luke xii. 45. [15] Luke xiv. 18, 19, 20.
[16] Luke xvii. 28. [17] Matt. xxvi. 73; John i. 46, vii. 41, 52; Acts ii. 7, 8.
[18] Matt. iv. 15; Strabo, 16, 2; Jos. Vita, 12.
[19] Bell. ii. 18, 1; Plin. v. 17, 1; xxxvi. 65, 1.

on the other side of the lake of Merom.[1] Even the road from the plain of Jezreel to the valley of the Jordan ran through the Gentile Scythopolis, a place which the Jews much disliked.[2] The chief cause of this intermixture was, that the so-called via maris—the great commercial road which united Damascus and Ptolemais—ran with its Gentile station-houses right through Galilee.[3] From the present Jacob's-bridge the road led down towards Capernaum, and ran across the plateau of Ramah and Gabara, direct through the mountains of Ptolemais. The large caravan trade not only brought in many foreigners, but drew the natives, too, as caravan guides, camel-drivers, packers, labourers and in a hundred other occupations, into Gentile pursuits. The towns on the western declivity had consequently become very much like Phœnician places. Thus Josephus calls Zebulon a town "which had most beautiful houses, as beautiful as those of Tyre, Sidon and Berytus."[4] The new erections of the Herods, as, for example, Sepphoris, which had been rebuilt by Antipas, exhibited, moreover, the style of Roman architecture,—a sign that the inhabitants had lost many of their Jewish ways of thinking as well.[5] Thus the common people in Galilee had become less sensitive to what was foreign. Gentile towns like Tiberias would have been impossible in the more narrow precincts of Judæa, and would have excited the inhabitants into rebellion; whilst in Galilee the Herods, with their foreign character, were tolerated. Separated from the barren land of Levites and Rabbis by the intervening Samaritans, less leavened by the intense sectarianism which prevailed there, less hardened in Jewish orthodoxy, and in many ways influenced by their extensive foreign relations, the Galileans had not become of that narrowly exclusive character which was usually the product of Judaism.[6] Yet in spite of their many Gentile influences, the people of these mountains were, on the whole, uncorrupted. They had, it is true, learned many a superstition from their

[1] Bell. ii. 18, 1. [2] Vita, 6; Bell. iii. 3, 1. [3] Matt. iv. 15, x. 5.
[4] Bell. ii. 18, 9. [5] Ant. xviii. 2, 1; Vita, 22. [6] Mark iii. 22.

Syrian neighbours, and nowhere was the fear of witchcraft and the terror of demons greater than among them; nevertheless, their morals had remained pure: as, for example, in relation to the intercourse between the sexes much was forbidden among them which was allowed in the more bigoted Judæa.[1] The Galileans, moreover, in spite of their greater tolerance of Gentile ways, were in nowise inferior in patriotism. They held fast to the promises of Israel, and, as the Gospels show, took a vigorous interest in the synagogue. At the sacred festivals "they went up to Jerusalem, as was the custom of the feast."[2] In this way was it possible for the province to be compared, as regards national feeling, with every other Jewish district. Even the love of fighting kept their patriotism a living principle among these vivacious mountaineers. "Cowardice was never a failing of the Galileans," declares Josephus,[3] who also calls them in another place, "the usual disturbers of the peace of the country."[4] At the feasts in Jerusalem they were generally those who commenced the tumults;[5] and in the Jewish war they were the first to offer resistance to the Roman armies, and among the last who defended the ruins of Jerusalem stone by stone—worthy sons of those fathers of whom Deborah formerly sang:

> "Zebulon is a people that jeoparded their lives unto death;
> And Naphtali in the high places of the field."[6]

There were families, as that of the robber Ezekias and Judas, Galileans, in which hatred towards Rome was inherited from generation to generation, and that in every generation had its martyrs to the popular cause.[7] These bold soldiers formed in times of peace a quarrelsome people, whom it was difficult to manage, and on the frontiers some fray was nearly always on foot.[8]

[1] Compare Grätz, Geschichte d. Juden, iii. 223. [2] Luke ii. 42.
[3] Bell. iii. 3, 2; compare also 1 Maccab. v. 20—23.
[4] Bell. i. 16, 5, διϛ ἔθοϛ ἦν θορυβεῖν.
[5] Luke xiii. 1; Antiq. xvii. 10, 2; Bell. ii. 3, 2, 4, 1, iii. 3, 2, &c.
[6] Judges v. 18. [7] Antiq. xx. 5, 2, xvii. 10, 5; Bell. ii. 17, 8.
[8] Antiq. xx. 6, 1; Bell. i. 16, 5; Tacitus, Ann. 12, 54.

The numerous clefts and caves of the limestone mountains of the highlands afforded refuge frequently to numerous bands of robbers, and the shepherds on Lebanon and Hermon were never to be relied on in times of commotion. In many districts, only too frequently was there a return of the time when, as

> "In the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied,
> And the travellers journeyed through by-paths."[1]

But even the peaceful citizen of Galilee was not estimated at the full value of a Jewish man. In "Gelil-hagoim," all separation from the Gentiles could not be carried out as strictly as in Judæa; to the Jew, therefore, anxious about his purity, the Galilean could easily appear an object of suspicion. The Hebraic form of Syriac or Aramaic, which had at this time everywhere supplanted Hebrew, was here certainly spoken in its worst character. The rough dialect, like the language of all mountain dwellers, was rich in gutturals, and was considered boorish, so that the Galilean was at once recognized by the first words he uttered.[2]

Thus the man from the lake who went down to Judæa was a butt for the jokes of his countrymen there. Even Josephus narrates with self-enjoyment the good joke from which Cabul received its name. Twenty towns of Galilee had been presented by Solomon to king Hiram. "Cabul! it does not please me," king Hiram is reported to have said when he saw them. "What cities are these which thou hast given me, my brother? And he called them the land of Cabul unto this day."[3]

Thus the inhabitants of the highlands were mocked, ridiculed and joked at by the Jews; but nevertheless there lay concealed beneath this primitive character a wealth of power and talent far greater than was possessed by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. While every servant-girl in Jerusalem ridiculed their language, and the proverb said, "Can there any good thing come out of

[1] Judges v. 6.
[2] Mark xiv. 70; Matt. xxvi. 73.
[3] 1 Kings ix. 13; Antiq. viii. 5, 3. Cabul means unfruitful, unpleasing.

Nazareth?"[1] or, "Shall Christ come out of Galilee?"[2] it has not seldom happened in the history of Israel, as is narrated in the Acts of the Apostles: "They were all amazed and marvelled, saying, Behold! are not all these which speak Galileans?"[3] Even in the earliest times, the inhabitants had distinguished themselves above the earnest and strict people of Judæa by their poetical talents and sensitive feelings. The first rejoicings of the poetical spirit in Israel were re-echoed from these mountains, when Barak, the hero of the tribe of Naphtali, had defeated the Canaanites in the plain of Jezreel. Here, too, the most powerful of the prophetic utterances found their voice. Here Hosea poured forth his warm and deep-felt words, in which the excitable temperament of the people especially found expression. Here, too, the Song of Songs was composed by a poet, into whose heart the cheerful vicinage had poured its sunniest beams, and whose eyes were open to note how the flowers gleam, and the fig-tree puts forth its green figs, and the vine sprouts, and the bloom of the pomegranates unfolds itself. Amidst the luxuriance of nature there lived still a healthy people, whose conscience was not yet corrupted by Rabbinical sophistries, and where full-grown men were elevated far above their Jewish kinsfolk, sickening with fanaticism.[4]

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2. The Domain of the Samaritans.

To the south of the plain of Jezreel, another highland rises with a gradual ascent, the real mountain range of which runs southward even beyond the Dead Sea, with a breadth varying from four to five miles, while to its west a hilly district of about the same breadth leans upon it, through whose valleys, which run parallel to each other, there is a descent to the coast.

[1] John i. 46. [2] John vii. 41. [3] Acts ii. 7.

[4] Bell. iii. 2, 1, 3, 2; Tac. Hist. 5, 6; Philo, leg. Frankfurt, Ausg. 1023.

The northern part of these mountains was at the time of Jesus in possession of the Samaritans. Their territory began at Ginæa (En-Gannim), to the south of the plain, and ended at Acrabi (Acrabbi), to the north of Shiloh.[1]

In these valleys the descendants of those tribes from the Euphrates were yet dwelling, who had been settled in the deserted territory of the kingdom of the ten tribes, especially by Esarhaddon; and these people in the course of time had—combined with the remnant of Israel and the exiled Judæans expelled from Jerusalem in its long party contests—coalesced to form a separate Mosaic community.[2]

Large tracts of their territory had been lost by them in course of time, through the growth of the new Jewish state,[3] and their own proper district embraced at this time scarcely more than forty square miles. Still they had always contrived to retain the more fruitful parts of this highland in their own possession.

Here the limestone has not yet absorbed most of the springs, as in the southern part of the country.[4] Flat districts, with a black alluvial soil, often inundated rich corn-fields, vegetable gardens and fruit orchards, succeed one another in the low grounds. Vine-trellises and various sorts of noble trees clothe the warm limestone declivities, while forests of olives and chestnut trees cover the hills. The meadows and pasture-grounds of Samaria were celebrated throughout Israel.[5]

> Joseph is a fruitful bough,
> A fruitful bough by the well,

the dying patriarch had said, and his blessing had remained in the land.[6]

But the rich growth of trees constituted in ancient times

[1] Bell. iii. 3, 4. [2] Ezra iv. 2; Jos. Ant. xi. 8, 6.

[3] Maccab. x. 30, 38, xi. 28, 34, 57; Apion, ii. 4.

[4] The usual account, that the mountains of Ephraim and Judah belong to the Jura formation, rests on the authority of Schubert, and is confirmed by Fraas, Aus dem Orient., Stuttg. 1867, p. 40, &c.

[5] Bell. iii. 3, 4. [6] Gen. xlix. 22.

the great advantage of the Samaritan mountains. The western declivities of the mountains towards the plain of Sharon, were called simply "The oak forest,"[1] and even in their time do the prophets speak of the forest-crowned range of Samaria, the pasture-grounds on its heights, and the forest of thickets upon its peaks.[2]

Abundant showers of rain were the blessings of Nature, not yet deprived of her forests.[3]

The climate was temperate and healthy, so that the Romans often preferred the localities of Samaria to those of Judæa.[4]

Yet the scenery does not attain the beauty of that of Galilee, and all travellers who looked down from the heights above ENGANNIM, back towards the home of Jesus, have found a marked difference between the bold outlines of the highlands and the tame mountain ridges, the level valleys and rectilinear features of Samaria, which want character as much as its people.[5]

The first locality of the Samaritans at which the Galileans arrived in their journeys to Jerusalem was GINÆA (En-Gannim).[6] Somewhat higher up, upon the table-land, where the old caravan road to Egypt passes by, lies DOTHAN,[7] celebrated in the history of Joseph's youth. Up over the heights, through the little town of GEBA, the road proceeded to the capital SEBASTE, the ancient Samaria. Proudly and free does the hill arise upon which the town is built, in the middle of an extensive and fruitful range of valleys. Here lay "the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim," as Isaiah called it.[8] John Hyrcanus had destroyed the town in the autumn of the year 110 B.C., and in his fanatical hatred brought down streams of water over the ruins, in order that no Samaritan might ever settle upon the

[1] Bell. i. 13, 8.

[2] Isaiah ix. 18, ix. 9, xxviii. &c. So also 1 Sam. xiv. 25; 2 Sam. xviii. 6; 2 Kings ii. 24; Tubil. cap. 34.

[3] Bell. iii. 3, 4. [4] Plin. Hist. Nat. 5, 14; Ptol. 5, 16; Strabo, 16, 2.

[5] Robinson, Pal. iii. 116, &c. [6] Bell. ii. 12, 3.

[7] Judith iii. 9; Gen. xxxvii. 17. [8] Isaiah xxviii. 3.

hills again.[1] The town lay in ruins for more than half a century, and the Jews held a special feast in celebration of the destruction of Samaria. Then Gabinius, the legate of Pompey, restored the town more proudly than ever on the heights of the mountain, and, as in the times of Isaiah, the inhabitants declared, "The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones."[2]

Herod stationed a military garrison here, enlarged its circuit, and encircled the entire hill with a wall. A temple of Augustus, inclosed by a court a stadium and a half round, shone out upon the heights, from which there is a view extending to the sea. The pillars of the colonnade are still visible which formerly surrounded the town, and perhaps led up to the palace to which Herod brought the last of the Maccabees home, and in which he had her sons executed.[3] Single trees to the north of the town[4] are all that remain of the forests in which Herod hunted, when he sought forgetfulness and rest from the image of the murdered Mariamne.[5]

After the deposition of Archelaus, the Samaritan council of elders, which held its meetings here, gained in influence, owing to the land being placed under the procurator, and since then the town may be considered to have been the real capital of the little country.[6] In a south-easterly direction from Samaria, a rocky valley proceeds, which, where the ascent of the cliffs is steepest appears to be a mere rocky ravine, and in ancient times was clothed with forests and abounded in springs.[7] Here lies the ancient Sichem, hemmed in by the mountains Ebal and Gerizim. The valley is hardly five hundred paces broad, and appears most charming, adorned by its fruit trees. Mount Gerizim was, from its position, its fertility, and its imposing form, from ancient times downwards, the central point of the

[1] Antiq. xiii. 10, 2.
[2] Isaiah ix. 10.
[3] Robinson, iii. 126; Bell. i. 17, 8, ii. 27, 5.
[4] Furrer, Wandg. in Palestin, pp. 255, 257.
[5] Antiq. xv. 7, 7.
[6] Antiq. xviii. 4, 2.
[7] Judges ix. 48, 49.

land.[1] Here the men able to bear arms used to assemble when the enemy swept over the land.[2] Upon its broad summit the temple of the Samaritans had stood for some two hundred years. "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain,"[3] does the woman of Samaria say in the fourth Gospel; but this sanctuary of the race had also been levelled with the ground by John Hyrcanus, and the great synagogue of the later Neapolis was a miserable substitute for the temple formerly so celebrated.[4] The men of Sichem, however, could not be robbed of their old sacred associations by the sanguinary sacerdotal king. The oaks still rustled, under which Abraham had erected the first altar to the Lord.[5] At Jacob's Well before the town, the thirsty traveller yet drank at the same spring at which the patriarch had watered his flocks;[6] and in the neighbourhood the grave of Joseph was yet pointed out, which the children of Israel made in the field of Hamor.[7] Upon their mountain Gerizim had Moses put the blessing of Jehovah,[8] and had buried the ancient sacred vessels in its clefts.[9] In their market-place had Joshua pronounced the law.[10] Sichem had been the first royal residence in the kingdom of Israel,[11] and had been flourishing while Jerusalem lay in ruins.[12]

To the south of Gerizim the district of Acrabi begins, which had already been allotted by the Roman administration among the Toparchies of Judæa,[13] but which, according to the majority of its localities, were Samaritan. Much Jewish and Samaritan blood had been poured out here upon this ground, for this border-land was most generally the spot where the feuds of both people were fought out. As often as the hatred of the Jews had found fresh nutriment by a festival at Jerusalem,

[1] Deut. xi. 29, xxvii. 11—13. [2] Antiq. xiv. 6, 2; Bell. iii. 7, 32.
[3] John iv. 20. [4] Epiph. Hær. 80, 1.
[5] Genesis xii. 7. Compare Jubil. cap. 31; Göttingen Jahrbuch, 1850, p. 39.
[6] John iv. 12. [7] Joshua xxiv. 32. [8] Deuter. xi. 29.
[9] Antiq. xviii. 4, 1. [10] Joshua xxiv. 25. [11] 1 Kings xii. 25.
[12] Jeremiah xli. 5. [13] Bell. iii. 4; Plin. v. 15; Ptol. 5, 16.

the villages of Acrabatene which could be first reached from the town were in flames.[1] Even during the war with the Romans, this district suffered the most of all.[2] In addition to those Samaritan places named, we find that a great number more are mentioned; as Tirathaba,[3] at the foot of Gerizim,[3] Rabbith,[4] Salem,[5] Thebez,[6] Gitta and Pirathon near Sichem, the beautiful Tirzah[7] and Geba near Sebaste, Taanach[8] and Bethulia[9] on the plain of Esdraelon, and others,[10] whose often Hellenicised names in themselves show how little opposition had been offered by the people to the Greek influence that since the time of Alexander had been continually pouring itself out upon the world with ever increasing power.

The nearer the frontiers of Judæa are approached, the more barren do the meadows and swards become, the barer and more rocky grow the mountains, the more rare are fountains and foliage. The commerce of the Samaritans did not turn thither therefore. It had its natural road below to the coast, where several localities on the plain of Sharon belonged to them as it seems.[11] They would at times, therefore, pass with strangers for Phœnicians.[12]

In their mountains they followed agriculture, and bred cattle and furnished wool for the Phœnician manufactories. Their young men took military service, and were somewhat celebrated as soldiers.[13] The town of Sebaste alone furnished the Romans with a squadron of cavalry.[14] Skill in trade failed them as little as it did the other children of the Phœnician coast, and not

[1] Bell. ii. 12, 4; Tac. Ann. 12, 54.
[2] Bell. ii. 22, 2.
[3] Antiq. xviii 4, 1.
[4] Joshua xix. 20.
[5] Hieron. quæst. in Gen. xiv. 18; Jubil. cap. 30; Göttg. Year-book, 1850, p. 37.
[6] Judges ix. 50.
[7] Song of Solomon, vi. 4.
[8] 1 Kings iv. 12.
[9] Judith vi. 14.
[10] A list of them is to be found in the Samaritan Chronicle of Abutfatch (printed by Ewald, 2nd edit. iv. 108). The places still known are collected in Robinson, Palestine, iii. 134.
[11] Plin. v. 13.
[12] Antiq. xii. 5, 6, xi. 8, 6.
[13] Antiq. xx. 8, 7, xix. 9, 2, xx. 6, 2; Bell. ii. 12, 5. Compare also Antiq. xi. 8, 4.
[14] Bell. ii. 12, 5.

seldom do we meet Samaritan usurers and money-changers even abroad,[1] where trade or war had gathered together Samaritan congregations with Samaritan synagogues. They were especially numerous in Egypt, where it is reported they were settled even by Alexander.[2]

The religious peculiarities of Samaria had been developed from their very commencement in opposition to the new Jewish influence. The children of the Captivity had after their return prevented the Cutheans, as they called the Samaritans who had come as colonists in part from Cuthah, from taking any part in building the new temple. The synagogues of the Samaritans withdrew, therefore, to that basis of the Mosaic constitution which they had found among the Israelites who had been left behind; they limited themselves to the Pentateuch, and rejected all other books which had been first collected during or after the exile as Jewish fabrications. Shut up within these narrow limits of their circle of religious ideas, they hung the more closely to the annals of the patriarchal history, and directed much piety to the cultivation of the reminiscences of that time, the monuments of which lay partly in their valleys, and were regarded with devoutness. All Samaria flocked together when, in addition to all these reminiscences of the patriarchs, a sorcerer offered, under Pilate, to find the genuine vessels of the tabernacle, which were reported to have been buried in Mount Gerizim.[3] In spite of the Jews, to be deemed the true children of the patriarchs was the pride of this misled people. "Thou art not greater," says the woman of Sichem to Jesus, in the fourth Gospel, "than our father Jacob, which gave us the well, and drank thereof himself, and his sons, and his cattle."[4] Even their temple upon Mount Gerizim they

[1] Antiq. xviii. 6, 4. As such they are mentioned in the Edict of Justinian: *περὶ ἀργυροπρατικῶν συναλλαγμάτων*, in Cellarius, Collectan. Hist. Samar. i. 7, p. 22.

[2] Antiq. xi. 8, 6.

[3] Other traces of this reverence for sacred places are also preserved. Compare Acts vii. 16; Antiq. xviii. 4, 1, xiii. 3, 4; Jubil. 31; Göttg. Year-book, 1850, 39.

[4] John iv. 12; Ant. xiii. 3, 4.

knew how to justify from Deuteronomy xxvii., and violent disputations took place at home and abroad on the great subject of discussion, whether Moriah or Gerizim were the place where, according to Moses' intention, they should pray to Jehovah. But none other of the sacred places were allowed to be theirs by the Jews: they even made up the calumny that under the Terebinth at Sichem Jacob had buried the clothes of his sons stained with the blood of the Sichemites, and the idols of Laban, together with the amulets of his wife, and that *these* were the relics which the Samaritans reverenced.[1] "First, when the Cutheans," said a younger Rabbi, collecting the points at issue between the two parties, "renounce Mount Gerizim, praise Israel, and believe in the resurrection of the dead, can there be unity again between them and Jerusalem?"[2]

It was certainly a difficult position for this little people to maintain—to be the enemy of Judaism and yet profess its religion—and the little tribe was not seldom in the position that with its dependence on Israel it must also deny its faith in Jehovah. Even if we may accept without further inquiry what the Rabbis have reported of them, that the temple of Jehovah on Mount Gerizim had at the same time contained an image of a dove[3]—perhaps an ancient reminiscence of the doves of Derceto and her daughter Semiramis which the subjects of the kingdom of Assyria had formerly venerated in their homes, and that yet found constant culture in the neighbouring Ascalon—yet they cannot be pronounced free from a certain vacillation of character. Whenever necessity demanded, they were prepared in nationality to be now Sidonian, now Persian, now Median, now Jewish, just as was most convenient;[4] and they, in like manner, allowed their God to be called now by Jewish and now by Hellenic names.[5]

[1] Jubil. 31 (p. 39).

[2] Compare Kirchheim: Seventh Little Jerusalem Massekhet, Frankfort, 1851, p. 37.

[3] Cholin, fol. 6.

[4] Antiq. ix. 14, 3, xi. 8, 6, xii. 5, 5.

[5] 2 Maccab. vi. 2; Antiq. xi. 8, 6.

To the Jews, such want of character was even more offensive than downright heathenism. "The nation that I hate is no nation," accordingly says Jesus, the son of Sirach;[1] and "Ye worship ye know not what," does Jesus say, in the fourth Gospel, to the woman of Sichem.[2] It was denied that the Samaritans, who had once worshipped five gods, could now have part in Jehovah. The author of John's Gospel, who introduces the woman of Samaria symbolically as the representative of her people to the Messiah, makes Jesus say of Samaria therefore, "Thou hast had five husbands, and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband." Such a syncretism of nationalities and religions was naturally a fruitful soil for the crassest superstition, and clever sorcerers have always reaped the richest harvest in these mountains. In the period of which we are now treating, the above-mentioned treasure-finder played an important part. This man assembled half Samaria at Mount Gerizim in the year 35 A.D. in order to dig up the ancient sacred vessels of the tabernacle, which should give a new advantage to the people of Samaria over the servants of the temple on Mount Moriah, and at the same time bear away the Messianic kingdom for the worshippers of Gerizim.[3] Perhaps he was the Simon Magus of the Acts of the Apostles and of Josephus, who for years made, it is said, a profit out of these credulous people?[4] The sarcastic Jews were never tired of castigating this weak side of the Samaritan character, while on the other hand the Samaritans derided the Jewish sanctuaries from which they were excluded. The old national enmity had by these means become more embittered from generation to generation, and the very storms of the last period had simply blown away the ashes anew from the yet glowing coals.

When the Romans had put an end to the splendour of the Maccabean state, one shout of triumph had, as it were, passed

[1] Ecclesiasticus l. 25.

[2] John iv. 22.

[3] Antiq. xviii. 4, 1; comp. 2 Macc. ii. 5.

[4] Acts viii. 9; Clem. Rec. i. 72, ii. 7; Hom. ii. 24.

through the Samaritan mountains. For fifty years long had the fragments of the temple on Mount Gerizim and the ruins of their capital been monuments of Jewish oppression, daily admonishing every Samaritan to revenge.

Pompeius and Gabinius, therefore, had appeared to them as redeemers from the most hateful of thraldoms. As Gabinopolis, Samaria arose again out of the ruins, until Herod conferred upon it the prouder name of Sebaste. In the Samaritans the new tyrant of Judæa, the murderer of the Maccabeans, found his natural allies, who rejoiced, in his army, to pay back to the Jews the calamities which they themselves had suffered. With them Herod took counsel, with them he conducted war, and to them he betook himself, when Jerusalem no longer pleased him. As the Idumean was hated in Jerusalem, so was he beloved in Samaria. All his Roman proclivities, which the Rabbis of Judæa considered to be a crime in him, he could here the more thoroughly satisfy. Theatre and temple arose in the new Sebaste, which he had made into a strong fortress against the Jews.

All the perplexities, which alarmed the tyrant at Jerusalem in his contest with the followers of the Maccabean dynasty, did he escape from in Samaria, where none found sympathy for the scions of the Maccabean stock. For them he was the good king, who had brought home a wife of their nation (Malthace), and dwelt as a father among them. They therefore remained quiet when, after his death, Judæa and Galilee took up arms against the sons of the Samaritan woman; and as a reward for this, Rome took off the fourth part of their taxes, and then added this amount to the Jewish population. A new ground of hatred for the people of Judæa.

The complete contrariety of the two peoples now manifested itself under the Roman dominion in a most glaring manner. While the Jews put themselves on a war footing towards the Roman influence, and strove by every means to put a stop to the introduction of all that was foreign, the Samaritans rejoiced over their new importance. Their Sichem was blooming; in

Cæsarea, close at hand, was stationed the procurator; at Sebaste a division of cavalry had been raised, consisting of natives; in their valleys, green with forests, the Roman strangers were fond of passing the summer. In short, their land enjoyed a preference which they did not allow themselves to destroy by any religious or national prejudice.

It was, then, a long account which the two peoples had to settle with one another, and they allowed no opportunity to pass of paying it off with all their might. The dogmatic hatred, which is a characteristic of the Jews, makes them appear here, too, as the more blameable and implacable. The Samaritan character had comparatively a milder side, as Jesus exhibits in his parables of the thankful and the good Samaritan.[1] Their unrestrained commerce with the nations of the coast, and the mixed population of their settlements, had already given them a more pliant disposition. Still, they were children, too, of the Syrian sun, in whose veins a hot blood boiled. Not seldom did they plot contests with the Jews as they were passing through on their way to the feasts, in which human lives fell a sacrifice.[2] Their huts were closed to Jewish pilgrims,[3] and even a drink of cold water was denied to the Jew travelling up to Jerusalem. "And they did not receive him, because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem." "How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria?" demands the woman at Jacob's Well of the thirsty traveller.[4] Moreover, their earlier inclination to the temple of Jehovah had since their rejection been changed into derision and scorn, that was expressed in every sort of mockery. In more ancient times, the priests at Jerusalem had been accustomed to remind those who dwelt in the country of the Easter new moon by fire signals upon the mountains, but the Samaritans caused such confusion among the country population by signals too early or too late, that finally another method of communication had to

[1] Luke xvii. 16, 17, x. 30, &c.
[2] Antiq. xx. 6, 1; Bell. ii. 12, 13.
[3] Luke ix. 53.
[4] John iv. 9.

be found.[1] In a similar manner they mocked the Jewish congregation at the feast of the Passover in the year 10 A.D., in that several stole up to Jerusalem, and after the commencement of the feast, when the priests, garments, and vessels, had all been thoroughly purified, strewed human bones in the courts of the temple, so that in the morning the crowd of celebrants had to be turned away at the door of the outer court, and the feast was discontinued in order that the people might not be defiled.[2] The rage of the Jews was the greater, in that the procurator Coponius, allowed this defilement of the temple to remain unpunished.

While the sentiments of the Samaritans in the direction of mockery and annoyance were thus proclaimed, the Jews, on the other hand, were full of a bloodthirsty hatred towards the Cutheans, and under the Roman procuratorship many a man atoned on the cross for his participation in the murderous expeditions to Acrabi, which the inhabitants of Jerusalem were not yet able to give up.[3] Jesus, the son of Sirach, had even in his time declared, "There be two nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third which I hate is no nation: they that sit upon the mountain of Seir, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem;"[4] and with every generation this foolish people at Sichem had become more hateful to the Jews. Their name had already become a term of derision. "We know that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil," the Jews say to Jesus in the Gospel according to St. John.[5] The Galileans took a circuitous route to the feasts at Jerusalem, for the towns of Samaria were, like the streets of the Gentile, impure, and it was forbidden to ask help of them, or receive food from them. The Samaritan woman, therefore, was perfectly right in asking, "How is it that thou, being a Jew, asketh drink of me, which am a woman of Sama-

[1] De Sacy, Chrestom., i. 158.
[2] Antiq. xviii. 2, 2.
[3] Bell. ii. 12, 6; Antiq. xx. 6, 1.
[4] Eccles. l. 25, 26.
[5] John viii. 48.

ria,"[1] for the Jewish teachers declared that "Ezra, Zerubbabel, Joshua, excommunicated and cursed the Samaritans, so that none in Israel eat the portion of a Samaritan. . . . He who takes bread of a Samaritan is like unto him who eats the flesh of swine. . . . Let no Israelite receive a Samaritan as a proselyte: they shall have no part in the resurrection of the dead."[2]

Every contract made in the presence of a Cuthean was void.[3] While the Jew might make a companion of the Gentile, of a Samaritan it was forbidden him. He is a stranger,[4] and if a teacher speaks but a single word to a woman of Samaria he creates astonishment.[5]

It had become, therefore, a momentous subject of dispute in the Jewish schools, how far it was lawful for the Jew to enjoy the products of Samaritan soil. The fruits of field and tree were certainly clean, but whether was the ground corn or pressed wine? The egg as laid by the hen defiled no one, but how about the cooked egg, the prepared food? The views varied this way and that,[6] and generally the opinion prevailed, "He who eats the bread of a Cuthean is as though he eat swine flesh."

Under such circumstances, the mountains on the other side of Acrabi had become to the Samaritans a foreign land, and when the Jews wished to travel up to the Highlands, they made a wide circuit round Jacob's Well, where in ancient times the tribes of Ephraim and Judah had watered their herds together. They still used to pass the night at Beeroth or Gophna,[7] lived during their forced marches on their own provisions and drank of the springs away from the towns, until with lightened hearts they descended into the plain of Jezreel, and were glad to set their foot again upon Jewish soil, "for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans."[8]

[1] John iv. 9. [2] Pirq. R. El. c. 38. [3] Ibid.
[4] Luke xvii. 18. [5] John iv. 27.
[6] Compare passages in Sepp. Thaten in Leben Jesu, 1864, p. 115.
[7] Jos. Bell. iii. 5, 1. Compare Euseb. Onom., art. βήρωθ; Robinson, Pal. i. 452.
[8] John iv. 9.

What were the relations of the Galileans to the Samaritans in the last period of the Jewish state, we learn from the drastic words of Tacitus: "Pillaging upon both sides, marauding bands despatched against each other, ambuscades devised, at times, regular engagements, after which booty and plunder were brought to the procurator. For both tribes which have been long at enmity now restrained their mutual hatred less than formerly, owing to the contemptibleness of the government."[1] But even Jews of milder temperament and pious were penetrated by a similar feeling towards Samaria. This clearly appears in the Jubilees, which date the full hatred of the latest period back to the times of the patriarchs. According to the author, even in the days of Jacob is Samaria the ground where treachery and ambuscade lurked behind the trees,[2] and the people of Sichem at that time, too, the offscouring of humanity. In glaring colours does he paint the shameful deed which Sechem, the son of Hemor, did to Dinah, "who was a little maiden twelve years old," and describes, quite as though it were one of the usual expeditions to Acrabi, Simeon's assault on Sichem, "where they slew all the men of Sichem, and left not one remaining. And they led their sister out of the house of Sechem. And they took as booty everything which was in Sichem, their sheep and cattle and asses, and all their possessions, and all their flocks, and brought them to their father Jacob."[3] "But to the sons of Jacob who had slain the men of Sichem was it inscribed in the book of Heaven, that they had executed righteousness and justice and vengeance upon sinners, and it was counted to them for a blessing." And as they would not give their sister Dinah to any man of Sichem, so should no one in Israel give his daughter to a Samaritan: "Upon the man that does so will come plague upon plague and curse upon curse, and every punishment and plague and curse."[4]

[1] Annals, 12, 54.
[2] Jubil. cap. 34, Jahrbücher, 1850, 45.
[3] Jubil. 30 (p. 38).
[4] Jubil. 30 (p. 37).

3. JUDÆA.

The southern part of Palestine is the least richly endowed by nature. According to the descriptions of Josephus, it appears that the unfruitful limestone mountains of Judæa were more hospitable then than now; but while even in the earliest times mention was made of the cedars of Lebanon, of the oaks of Bashan, of the forest-crowned heights of Samaria, no similar description of scenic beauty, taken from Judæa, ever became proverbial. Strabo, too, had found the country about Jerusalem rocky and little to be desired,[1] and the district unfruitful, barren and stony, "so that no one would risk a serious engagement on its account."[2]

There is no natural or geological boundary between the mountains of Ephraim and Judah; even the historical one had been altered, in that the Jews had taken possession of the southern part of the mountains of Ephraim. The more possible is it, however, to speak of a boundary in the scenery. For the rocky table-land becomes broader, the declivities are steeper; the whole landscape sterner, more barren and inhospitable; the precipice towards the valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea waste and deserted. While the mountains towards the south-west sink down into a mere hill-country, the south-eastern declivity takes more and more the character of a desert.

There are districts, certainly, of considerable size which form exceptions to this general physiognomy of Judæa. Visible from the coast is the hill-country—fanned by the fresh sea breezes—that rests, in the north on the mountains of Ephraim, in the south on the mountains of Judah, while its valleys lead down into the fruitful plain of SHEPHELA. This district offers as pleasant an aspect as any in Israel.[3] The champaign under these hills had been the *campus trojanus* of Jewish history

[1] Geogr. 16, 2: χωρίον οὐκ ἐπίφθονον, πετρῶδες, &c.

[2] Geogr. 16, 2 (p. 761).

[3] Robinson, i. 568, &c.

upon which the heroes of former times had measured their strength with the Philistines. Here lies the valley of Ajalon, on which Joshua had once commanded the sun to stand, in order to shed light upon the downfall of the Amorites. Here were the vineyard ascents on which Samson, the joyous hero, descended to Timnath, in order to visit the daughters of the Philistines,[1] the secret ravines through which he drove down the foxes in order to set fire to the standing corn and sheaves and olive-yards on the plain, and up which he crept with the gates of Gaza upon his broad shoulders, in order to deposit them upon the mount at Hebron.[2] Here, too, was the valley of the Terebinths, in which the six-cubits-high Philistine of Gath was defeated by the son of Jesse of Bethlehem.[3] But especially is there a hill which both in the landscape and in history attracts the eye, called once Modin, but to-day Lâtrân, the robbers' hill, which commands Bab-el-Wady, the gate of the valley. Upon this mountain Apollos, the ambassador of Epiphanes, built an altar, and ordered the people to sacrifice to Zeus Henios. But Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, struck down the first who approached with frankincense in his hand, and around this hill the most righteous war, which history has ever known, raged. When Judas Maccabæus fell, he was laid in his father's sepulchre at Modin, and Jonathan and Simon completed what Mattathias and Judas had begun. Thus this hill-country became for the second time the birthplace of Jewish renown in war. Since this time, the plain, too, had, in great part, passed into Jewish hands, and the active commerce with the Syrian towns and the Phœnician population not yet ejected brought more life into this district than we find elsewhere in Judæa.

The land and people, however, present quite a different appearance when we proceed higher up on the broad ridge of the mountain, on the same road from the south to the north. The table-land extends uniformly to the south, cut through by deep and rocky valleys. The mountains are broad, arched and

[1] Judges xiv. 5. [2] Judges xv. 5, xvi. 3. [3] 1 Sam. xvii. 2.

bare, and for the most part arise alone in the wide-extended plains, which are level as a table. The black weather-beaten limestone which frequently projects out from the fields, gives the whole country a wild and deserted appearance. But on this very account is the way from the frontiers of Samaria to Jerusalem one great pilgrim road. SHILOH is the first place which the pious wanderer reaches, whither once the mother of Samuel made a pilgrimage to the tabernacle in order to pray for the gift of a child;[1] and GILGAL, where her great son judged the people. Farther on, the road leads through the desert rocky valley of tears, of which the poet sang:[2]

"Blessed is the man who thinketh on the ways of Jerusalem.
They going through the valley of tears make it a well,
And an early rain covereth it with blessing.
As they go they increase in strength,
Until they appear before God in Zion."[3]

Through the capital of the district, GOPHNA, past the ancient sanctuary of Bethel, the road leads on to BEEROTH and RAMAH, where Rachel the mother of the tribes lay buried.[4] At the time of Jesus a pillar still stood by the road-side over the grave of Rachel,[5] and opposite lay the tomb of two other unfortunate members of Jacob's womens' tent, Billah and Dinah.[6] Away beyond the pillar had once the captive Jews wandered into their Babylonian exile,[7] and Jeremiah received their lamentations at the grave. "A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not."[8]

Opposite, Gibeon's „"noble heights" appear, where Solomon prayed to the Lord, and three miles farther south on a free summit the "place-of-prayer,"[10] Mispeh, where Samuel had set

[1] 1 Sam. i. 3. [2] 1 Sam. x. 8.
[3] Ps. lxxxiv. 6—8. Hitzig reads Baka valley. [4] 1 Sam. x. 2, 3.
[5] Jubil. 32; Götting. Year-book, 1850, p. 43. [6] Ebend. chap. xxxiv.
[7] Jerem. xxxi. 15. See Hitzig on the passage, Jer. prof. Jer., 2nd ed. p. 245.
[8] Matt. ii. 18. [9] 1 Kings iii. 5. [10] 1 Macc. iii. 36.

up the memorial stone, Ebenezer.[1] Thus the journey led from sanctuary to sanctuary up to JERUSALEM, which lies upon a barren tongue of the mountains which form the watershed between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean,[2] in the very middle of the country, so that Josephus was able to rightly term it the navel of the land.[3]

To the south of Jerusalem the country again assumes a more genial character. Here lie the pleasant hills of BETHLEHEM, around which a crown of sacred traditions had gathered, even before the Gospel narrator had heard the choirs of angels singing here. An oasis like this, the only green tract between burning deserts of rock, must from the earliest times have excited the poetical fancies of the sons of the desert. While the Jebusites still dwelt upon the rocks of Zion, and Isaac dwelt at Hebron, Jacob came from Ramah here on his way home, and there was it that Rachel died when giving birth to Benjamin, "and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is now called Bethlehem. And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave."[4] From that time forward Rachel, the mother of the tribes, hovered between Ramah and Bethlehem, and the seer's eye beheld her shade in times of distress, and heard her voice lamenting. But a second mother of the tribes of royal Israel had found, too, her resting-place in these borders. In the fields of Bethlehem Ruth had gleaned her corn and become the wife of Boaz and mother of David's tribe. From this place was it that Saul had departed to seek his father's asses and found a kingdom. Here Jesse, the son of Obed, the son of Ruth, had pitched his tents and huts, and upon this tract had his youngest son David fought with bear and lion for his sheep, and sang his songs of the courses of the stars and the morning's dawn, and the race which the sun as a strong man rejoiceth to run. Here did the last of the sons of Israel which the Chaldæans had left remaining in Judah hold their deliberation, after the murder of Gedaliah, as to whether they should not flee to Egypt and drag with them the unwilling

[1] 1 Sam. vii. 12. [2] Robinson, i. 259. [3] Bell. iii. 3, 5. [4] Gen. xxxv. 20.

Jeremiah, who opposed the plan, into the land of the Gentile. To this favourite tract of Judah was united finally the promise of the prophets, that from here, where David had been born, the Messiah should proceed, and so tradition joins with Rachel and Ruth a third, Mary, who was overtaken by the pains of labour not far from the spot where once Rachel had dismounted from her camel in order to give birth to Benjamin. And the parents had no place where they might lay the child, and they took a manger, and the angels sang over the place, and the shepherds came and found him who was greater than Benjamin or David, his ancestors. Thus this is historically, too, the oasis of Judaism before which we are standing.

Somewhat further on towards the south lie the dykes of ETAM, which Solomon dug "to water the wood that bringeth forth trees."[1] On the saddle of the range, where the road leads down to the Dead Sea, we find upon a rock which appears like a truncated cone the beautiful castle HERODIUM, by which Herod intended to cover the retreat from Jerusalem to Arabia, his refuge in days of trouble, and his mausoleum in death. Picturesque ravines with sloping walls of rock lead down with a steep declivity to the Dead Sea. The innumerable caves of these lonely mountains were ever, as it is said in 1 Samuel xxii. 22 of the cave of Adullam, the refuge of every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented.[2] Between valleys of rock stretching up from the wilderness lay other lonely tracts also, as the wilderness of TEKOA, where the prophet Amos tended his cattle and planted his mulberries; and towards the south extended the broad valley of HEBRON, in which the patriarchs had once pastured their herds, and had laid themselves down to eternal rest.[3] At the time of Jesus the ancient tower still stood out above the valley, in which Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were said to have abode,[4] and opposite, at Mamre, the double cave was pointed

[1] Eccles. ii. 6.

[2] So, too, in 1 Maccab. ii. 31.

[3] Genesis xiii. 18, xxiii. 2, xxxvii. 14.

[4] Jubil. c. 29, 31, 36, and other places.

out in the limestone range, which Abraham had purchased from the sons of Heth. "He gave the price for the place of good silver, and bowed himself twice before them, and besought them, being full of humility, and then he buried Sarah in the double cave."[1] More and more do the mountains subside into hills towards the undulating steppes of Idumæa. Where the great road from Hebron runs through the 'Arabah to the Red Sea, lay MALATHA, covered[2] by a castle occupied by a Roman cohort as a protection to commerce, where once Herod Agrippa had sighed over his debts; and on the same road, a day's journey farther to the south, THAMAR, similarly the seat of a Roman garrison, for the same purpose of protecting the caravans proceeding from Gaza to Ailah.[3] At the spots AROER and BEER-SHEBA, we stand on the frontiers of Idumæa, where the sons of Jacob and Esau, united since the time of John Hyrcanus under one sceptre, had dealt with one another not always peacefully. The Idumæan steppe is now a flowery meadow and now a wilderness, according to the time of year and the situation of the district. The contemporary who wrote the book of Jubilees has given a living picture of it in his description of the wanderings of Hagar, who, with the emptied bottle upon her shoulder and her child by the hand, wandered lost in these sand-hills of the wilderness of Beersheba. "And the child thirsted and could not walk, and fell down. And his mother took him and cast him under an olive. And she went and sat down over against him, as it were a bowshot off, for she said, 'Let me not see the death of my child.'"[4]

The valley of the Jordan, where we leave it at Scythopolis, like this district, shows, too, from its very name of the 'Arabah, that it is a steppe, where in spring the herds pasture, but in the glow of summer becomes a wilderness. "In summer," says Josephus,[5] "the plain is quite burnt up, and by reason of the heat gives forth a very unwholesome air, productive of fever; it

[1] Jubil. 19; Gotting. Year-book, 1850, p. 15, also chap. xlvi., &c. [2] Euseb. Onom.
[3] Ibid. [4] Jubil. 17; Götting. Jahrbücher, 1850, p. 13. [5] Bell. iv. 8, 2.

is all destitute of water, excepting the river Jordan; therefore the palms only on its banks are flourishing and fruitful, while those that are more remote are much less so."

An exception is made, on the western declivity, by the oasis rich in palms, which extended from ARCHELAIS to PHASAELUSI, the winter residence of the Herodian Salome, afterwards a much-prized inheritance of the Empress Livia.[1] Otherwise the valley is uninteresting and uninhabited. The Jordan, with its acacias, tamarisks, and copses of willows and reeds, forms a green riband on a brown plain surrounded by barren steep slopes, bare limestone ravines and crumbling chalk beds. The more blooming, therefore, does a rock-crowned oasis appear, that extends on the higher part of the Dead Sea, where numerous streams from the mountain ranges of Judah water the plain, and the Jordan has deposited all the rich valley soil which it brings down with it from its upper course. Mention is made here even of marsh land and thick forests.[2] A step still farther on grow "the palm trees by the water, the rose plants which are in JERICHO."[3] This latter important and celebrated town had been not a little beautified in the time of the Herods. The walls, theatre and circus had been provided by Herod, while Archelaus had contributed the new palace with its gardens. Here was the race-course on which Herod proposed to have executed the chief elders of the people of Judæa after his death; here the pond in the king's garden in which he had the last of the Maccabees, the brother of Mariamne, drowned. The great caravan road ran through Jericho to the east of the Dead Sea, then along the mountain range of Seir down to the Red Sea, so that the town was of great importance in the trade with Arabia and Egypt. Its active commerce was called into still greater life at the feasts, when the trains of pilgrims from Galilee, avoiding the Samaritan road, passed through, singing psalms. The sycomore (mulberry-tree) upon which Zacchæus climbed in order to see

[1] Antiq. xvii. 13, 1, xviii. 2, 2, xix. 5, 2; Plin. xiii. 9, 4.
[2] 1 Macc. ix. 45. [3] Ecclus. xxiv. 14.

Jesus, calls such days to mind. Moreover, the most precious production of the valley, the balsam, had given rise to a thriving industry. The balsam shrubs were grown in wide plantations. The drops flowing from the bark when torn with sharp stones, somewhat similar in appearance to viscid milk, were collected in vessels or on wool. The juice, which at first looked clear and then red and thick, was next poured into muscle-shells, where it received a firm shape, and was so exported. It was valued not only for its odour, but still more for its medicinal properties. "It cures headaches in a wonderful manner," says Strabo, "and also weakness of the eyes at its commencement, and short-sightedness."[1] After the incorporation of Judæa, the balsam trade had become a profitable royalty to the Romans. The chief plantation lay behind the royal castle, and was a pearl for sake of which Cleopatra had more than once attempted the life of her neighbour Herod. In honour of this flourishing trade the Romans had established a special custom-house on the frontiers here, the farmer of which, at the time of Jesus, was the little deformed Zacchæus.[2] He had grown rich in the office, and the people decried him as a miser. From this importance of the town, through its own products and as the key of Judæa, it had always been most strongly fortified, especially as a protection against the Nabatæans. Here, therefore, were situated the fortresses Thrase and Taurus,[3] Dagon or Docus,[4] and Cypros, which surrounded the smiling oasis in a beautiful crown.

As in this remarkable land the strongest contrasts lay immediately beside one another, so the rose-gardens and palm-groves of Jericho are succeeded by the wilderness of the Dead Sea. The ground speedily becomes rocky and unfruitful. Between bushy banks covered over with reeds does the Jordan creep along, through a wilderness strewn over with blocks of salt. This was the inhospitable region in which John the Baptist

[1] Strabo, xvi. 2; Jos. Bell. i. 6, 6; Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 54; Tac. Ann. v. 6.
[2] Luke xix. 2. [3] Strabo, xvi. 2 (p. 763).
[4] Antiq. xiii. 15, 1; Bell. i. 2, 3; 1 Macc. xvi. 15.

once preached repentance. "The river tarries," says Pliny,[1] "as though it unwillingly approached the abominable sea which swallows it up and spoils its precious waters by union with its own reeking waves." In the neighbourhood of the Salt Lake, the vegetation entirely ceases. A long and broad plain opens out, in which lies the lake, some thirty-nine geographical miles long and nine wide, surrounded in the east and west by steep ravined heights of lime. The ground is for some distance around impregnated with salt. Springs of asphalt beneath the lake send their bituminous masses to the surface. Probably an earthquake buried the two sister cities of Sodom and Gomorrah here, in times yet historical, beneath the blue waves of the Salt Lake, by which the numerous asphalt pits on the shore might be set on fire. "And Abraham looked from the hill by Hebron toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and beheld, and, lo, a smoke went up from the earth as the smoke of a furnace."

This region was at the time of Jesus as little inhabited as it is at the present day. Only on the western declivity do we find a genial valley at a beautiful fountain falling from precipitous rocks. Here is situated the oasis of EN-GEDI, and still farther to the south, upon precipitous rocks, the fortress MASADA, which was built in a most astonishing manner by Herod upon the cliff and made habitable.[2] Immense stores of weapons had been stored here by the king, by means of which it first became possible for the Jews, when they had made themselves masters of the fortress in the spring of the year 66, to begin the war against Rome. As the Jewish war had its origin here, so also was this rocky perch the last fortress which held out, and here it ended finally with a dreadful sacrifice; for the entire garrison slew themselves when the castle could be held by them no longer.[3]

On the deserted rocks of Masada, the authorities Strabo and Josephus claim to have seen traces of the flames of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. "Rugged cliffs marked by fire, crevices and earth resembling ashes; drops of pitch also, which

[1] Plin. v. 2. [2] Bell. vi. 8, 3. [3] Bell. vii. 9, 1.

ooze out of the rocks and brooks, that have a disagreeable smell even at a distance, and overthrown dwellings in ruins."[1] Later travellers have put forth similar phantasies. But in reality direct volcanic activity has never been in operation here. Earthquakes might have buried towns under the lake, lightnings have set fire to the petroleum springs and asphalt pits, but eruptions have never taken place here.[2] The district itself is unfruitful, owing to the steep precipices of the limestone and the salt strand. Its only industry was the collection of the asphalt that floated upon the surface of the lake, into which it had run down from the heated rocks of the shore, that rose perpendicularly out of the sea, or had been forced up to the surface from the bottom of the lake by storms. The inhabitants dragged these masses, of the size of a bullock, it was said, to the shore in boats. After they had been thoroughly dried here, they were split up, like trees, with wedges and axes, and despatched to the sea-coast, where tar was prepared from it.[3] The warm springs on the eastern bank had caused many celebrated watering-places to be established. Thus Callirhoe in the valley of the Zurka Ma'in, and others which lay higher in the mountains near the fortress Machærus.

The rocky region which extends from the Dead Sea to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem is called the Wilderness of Judah, and is divided into a succession of separate wildernesses—that is to say, of rocky districts of stone and grassy plateaus—which extend around the inhabited valleys after which they are named.[4]

[1] Strabo, 16, 2. So, too, Bell. iv. 8, 4; Tacit. Hist. 5, 7, &c. Philo (Vita Mos. ii., Mangey, 143) claims to know of repeated weaker eruptions: ἡ ἔτι ἀναδιδομένη φλὸξ ἀμαυρὰ, καθάπερ διασμυχομένου πυρός. Frankfort edition, p. 662.

[2] Compare Fraas, Das Todte Meer., Stutg. 1867, p. 18: "With a very gentle declension towards the north-east, the strata all lie almost entirely horizontally, layer above layer as regular as in the most beautiful secondary rocks of Swabia, without break, without flexion, without a trace of any disturbance." Upon the error that native sulphur always points to volcanic action, compare Fraas, Aus dem Orient, p. 66.

[3] Bell. iv. 8, 4. Tac. Hist. 5, 6.

[4] In addition to those mentioned above, which lie in part upon the heights, there are the places of the wilderness of Tekoa, En-gedi, Siph, Maon and Beersheba. The

In these lonely valleys, where only the owners of large herds, as once Nabal, have their farms, and poor shepherds their huts,[1] were situated, too, the colonies of the Essenes that made such a deep impression upon strangers. "A curious people," says Pliny, "who, denying themselves every indulgence, live without women or money, and with palms for their sole companions. This society is regularly increased by those who come to them daily; for the number of those tired of life, that feel compelled through the storms of fate to adopt their customs, is significant. By these means a people continues (which certainly appears incredible), among whom none are born for thousands of years. Thus the weariness of life of others is to them productive!" [2]

The caves, moreover, in which the limestone range is productive, served as a refuge for anchorites, who lived here, as John and Banus, as ascetics.[3] Their neighbours, however, were robbers, who, especially on the northern declivity of the rocky wilderness of Jericho, which abounded in ravines, beset the travellers proceeding from Jerusalem to Jericho,[4] or the fugitives whom tyranny and war had expelled from their homes.[5]

We have only in passing spoken hitherto of JERUSALEM, which, as few other capitals, formed the heart and centre of its country. History, which built Athens upon an unfruitful, uninhabited cliff, and Rome between a marsh and a wilderness, had placed Jerusalem, too, upon a barren tongue of stone, that was by nature so uninviting, so unfruitful, so inhospitable, as only to be found once in a country. Twelve hours' journey from the sea, eight hours from the valley of the Jordan, upon the watershed between the two,[6] lay the city, on the end of a rocky mountain ridge which falls away into three hills; on the south, that of Mount Zion, on the east of Moriah; towards the north-west, Akra; and beneath it, towards the north, that of the so-

wilderness of Jericho is a gorge shut off by itself, which runs from this town away to the neighbourhood of Bethany.

[1] "Cuncta sunt plena pastoribus."—Hieron. prol. in Anios.
[2] Hist. Nat. i. 15.
[3] Matt. iii. 1; Jos. Vita, 2.
[4] Luke x. 30.
[5] [redacted]ll. iv. 8, 2.
[6] Robinson, i. 258.

called "marshy place" Bezetha.[1] Along the hills of Bezetha, Moriah on one side and the Mount of Olives on the other, runs the valley of Jehoshaphat, watered by the brook Kidron.[2] On the western side of the hills of Akra and Zion lies the valley of Hinnom, which then, to the south of Zion, runs into the valley of Jehoshaphat.

These mountains are composed of a light limestone, dazzling, dusty, unfruitful and injurious to the eyes. The houses of the city hung in thickly crowded rows, rising one above another, on the two sides of the valley of the cheesemakers,[3] which ran between the hills of Zion, Akra and Moriah.

Upon Zion lay the upper city, surrounded by a wall; this was the most spacious and airy quarter.[4] A circle of sixty towers surrounded it. Upon Akra lay the lower city, similarly surrounded by a wall. An especially strong rampart surrounded the base of the new city, which extended towards the north. Built in a zig-zag, in order to be able to attack besiegers on the flank,[6] the works were surmounted every two hundred cubits with a stately tower.

The strongest fortifications, however, were the towers situated on the northern side of Mount Zion, Hippicus, Phasaëlus and Mariamne, which looked defiantly from the side of the valley of the cheesemakers across the city, and were united in the rear, by means of their courts, to the king's castle. This was a newly-built palace of Herod's, which with its gardens, courts and halls, occupied the greater part of Mount Zion, and was shut off from the bustle of the streets by a wall thirty cubits high. In its immediate neighbourhood, also opposite to the temple, do we find on the so-called Xystus, which was a market-place surrounded by galleries on the east side of Zion, the old castle of

[1] The new city of Bezetha did not exist at the time of Jesus. Bell. v. 4, 1, 5, 8.

[2] *φάραγξ Κεδρών.* Bell. v. 2, 3, 4, 2.

[3] *φάραγξ τῶν Τυροποιῶν.* Bell. v. 4, 1.

[4] Bell. ii. 14, 8, v. 4, 4; Antiq. xv. 9, 3, xx. 8, 11.

[5] Bell. v. 4, 2.

[6] Tac. Hist. 5, 11; Dio. Cass. 16, 4.

the Maccabees.[1] From here a bridge led over the valley of the cheesemakers to the temple-hill.[2] This temple-hill had been built over for some distance, and a new substructure raised at its base, in places to the height of four hundred cubits, until at the top an irregular space had been obtained, upon which rose the fore-courts of the temple, one over the other, like terraces. On its north-west corner lay the fortress of Antonia, upon a steep rock fifty cubits high. It contained barracks, halls, baths, and places for exercise. The Roman garrison stationed here controlled the proceedings in the temple, the northern and western halls of which were here united,[3] and at the same time menaced the new city, which lay beneath it. At the festivals the garrison was regularly strengthened for the purpose of preserving order.

Thus the city, with its houses thronged closely one upon another on the sides of the valley of the Tyropœon, its walls threefold on the north, one enclosing the other, together with the numerous castles and towers which lay within it, presented a gloomy and unpleasing appearance, so that strangers called it simply a fortress.[4] The temple alone, with its wide spaces, its cedar halls and walls of marble, offered a more agreeable residence, as it, as seen from the neighbouring heights, worthily crowned the turreted city. The immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem consisted of gardens, in which were situated pleasure houses and other places of recreation,[5] or else tombs cut with great art in the mountain.[6] The wealth of olives and chestnut trees gave these waterless and stony valleys a somewhat more genial appearance then than is now the case,[7] although their dryness and want of springs was even then a subject of complaint.[8]

[1] Antiq. xiv. 4, 2, xx. 8; Bell. vi. 6, 2, ii. 15, 1, 16, 3.
[2] Bell. i. 7, 2, ii. 16, 3, vi. 3, 3; Antiq. xiv. 4, 2, xv. 11.
[3] Bell. v. 4, 8.
[4] Plin. v. 15, 3; Strabo, 16, 2.
[5] Bell. v. 2, 2, v. 3, 2, vi. 1, 1.
[6] Antiq. xx. 4, 3; Bell. v. 4, 3; Matt. xxvii. 60.
[7] Bell. v. 6, 2, &c.
[8] Cass. Dio, 66, 4.

The central point and heart of Jerusalem, around which all the activity of city and district turned, was the Temple, which Herod had lately re-erected with a magnificence that surpassed all former ones. The upper surface of the temple-hill had been increased by a sloping wall some 300 to 400 cubits high, until at the top a rectangle had been formed, whose sides, according to Josephus, were a stadium broad (600 feet).[1] The surrounding walling was not indeed visible on all sides, since roads had been raised against it, and flights of steps made. From the Xystus a bridge was thrown across to the fore-court; through the so-called Beautiful Gate a way led up from the valley of the Kidron; one gate gave admittance to the fortress of Antonia, two led down to the city on the south.[2] Through each of these five gates admission was gained to the lowest and largest of the temple courts, the fore-court of the Gentiles, surrounded by double galleries or halls, whose cedar roofs were supported by marble pillars fifty feet high.[3] The temple terrace had the steepest descent at the east side, towards the valley of the Kidron,[4] consequently the temple appeared most splendid from here.[5] "He sat upon the Mount of Olives over against the temple," does the Gospel of Mark say of Jesus. On the other side, from the flat roof of the western hall, Jerusalem lay at one's feet. There, therefore, does the Gospel place the story of the Temptation. "The devil brought him to Jerusalem, and set him on the pinnacle of the temple, and said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down from hence."[6]

In the colonnades which surrounded this lower area of the sanctuary, an active traffic prevailed, in that here dealers in doves, and, according to the Gospel of John, traders in oxen and sheep, held with their beasts a kind of cattle market for the convenience of those who desired to sacrifice. As the temple-tax could be paid here directly, money-changers had set up their

[1] Antiq. xv. 11, 3.
[2] Acts iii. 2, 10; Antiq. xv. 11, 5; Middoth, 1, 3.
[3] Bell. v. 5, 2.
[4] Antiq. xx. 9, 6.
[5] Bell. v. 5, 6; Mark xiii. 3.
[6] Luke iv. 9.

tables, in order to exchange the ordinary money for the proper temple currency. From the vehemence with which the Jewish population conducted all money business, there was here often such a profane raving and screaming, such cheating and denunciations of cheating, that Jesus called this part of the temple a den of thieves. On the south side was a triple colonnade, the royal porch,[1] as the Gospels call it, a kind of basilica, where the Rabbis taught, popular orators collected the people about them, and visitors at the temple wandered up and down. Here has Jesus addressed the people at the feasts, and here have his disciples afterwards disputed with the Rabbis.

In this outer fore-court, at the north-west, there was a terrace raised some few steps, on which at certain distances apart were Greek and Latin inscriptions, forbidding those who were not Jews to advance nearer to the sanctuary on pain of death. Here began the rampart, the further wall of which formed the high basement of the proper fore-court. This terrace, some forty cubits higher than the lower court, contained the fore-court of the Israelites, of the women, and, next to the temple, the fore-court of the priests. Cloisters ran round the inner walls also, interrupted by spaces which were allotted to special purposes. Here, for example, was situated the temple synagogue, in which the Sanhedrin for some time was accustomed to hold its meetings; so, too, the extensive magazines for the necessaries for the temple; the separate small courts for the Nazarites who had their hair cut off here, for the lepers which underwent purification here, for the examination of the wood for the sacrifices, which might never be worm-eaten; moreover, there were guard-rooms for the Levites, cells for the instruments, laundries, rooms for garbage, for salt, the well-house, and others for similar purposes.

The temple itself stood twelve steps yet higher than the court of the Israelites, also in the north-western part of the space. It was built entirely of white marble. A large portico led up

[1] John x. 23.

to the gilded doorway of the temple, whose doors stood open, while a many-coloured woven Babylonian curtain prevented any one looking into the interior. The roof was flat, studded with golden spikes, which reflected the sun's rays dazzlingly. Round the walls of this court hung the numberless votive offerings with which pious reverence had adorned the sanctuary. Over the temple itself glittered the golden bunch of grapes, on account of which, according to Tacitus, many thought the sanctuary was a temple of Bacchus. Since this marble building rose above all the lower courts and buildings, it presented a proud appearance to the neighbourhood, and was visible far and wide in city and district.[1] Through the life of the temple, the city, little inviting as it appeared to strangers,[2] had the exalted style of a centre of highest and holiest interests, which impressed even foreigners.[3] It betrayed that it was the seat of the theocracy from the very physiognomy of its population. The priests alone, whose number Josephus estimates at 20,000,[4] and for the most part had their home in Jerusalem itself, formed no small part of the inhabitants; then the Levites, recognized by their pointed caps and the pocket which contained their books of the Law;[5] Pharisees, whom their broad phylacteries and deep fringes proclaimed to be members of a religious society;[6] Essenes in solemn white dresses and prophetic manner;[7] Herodian courtiers in the pomp of Oriental display, and amongst them a Roman garrison of now greater and now lesser strength: all these together could not fail to make a powerful impression upon the inhabitants of a district otherwise

[1] Much concerning the temple building and the temple is given in Antiquities, xv. 11, 3, Bell. v. 1, 8; and much special information by the Tract. Middoth (Mischna), 5, 10.

[2] Strabo, xvi. 2.

[3] Strabo, xvi. 2: "Although a certain magnificence attached to their capital, which they did not abhor as the seat of tyranny, but held sacred as the temple of God and venerated." Plin. v. 15, 2; Tac. Hist. v. 8.

[4] Apion. ii. 8. [5] Jebamoth, 122 a. [6] Matt. xxiii. 5.

[7] Bell. i. 3, 5, ii. 8, 3, ii. 7, 3; Antiq. xiii. 11, 2, xvii. 13, 3, and elsewhere.

poor and uniform. Moreover, the temple service was at that time the only pulsation of national life, and the temple the heart to which all Jewish blood flowed in the regular rhythm of the festivals, even from the most extreme periphery. At the time, moreover, when there were no feasts going on, the life in the sanctuary did not cease: in the interior courts there were the throng of sacrificers, women after childbed with their doves, lepers who had been cured with their birds or lambs; Nazarites with their hair grown long; the recitation of prayers and formularies; the genuflexions and gestures, the slaughtering of the sheep, the lowing of the oxen; and the whirling columns of smoke from the burnt-offerings.

In a most vivid manner does 2 Chronicles xxxv. 1—20 describe that life, as it surged up in its fulness through the interior of the temple during the feast. When the priests and Levites had arranged themselves in their courses and in the houses of their fathers, lambs and kids and oxen were led to the sacrifice; the Passover was roasted with fire, and the other holy offerings they seethed in pots, and in caldrons, and in pans, and brought them speedily to the priests, because these were busied in offering of burnt-offerings and the fat until night. And the singers, the sons of Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun, and the porters, might not depart from their service; for their brethren prepared for them.[1] In the outer courts, on the other hand, do we find the active intercourse of a city population with numerous strangers. In short, all departments of the popular life had its theatre upon this hill. Here is the sanctuary for the sacrifice, the Sanhedrin for judgments, the great fore-court for the congregation of the people. Here is the daily sacrifice for all Israel brought, and the twenty-one trumpet blasts which sound from the temple—three at opening of the gates, nine at the morning sacrifice, nine at the evening sacrifice—are for the citizens the signals for prayer, for work, and for rest. Towards the temple

[1] Compare also Joseph. Apion, ii. 8.

every Jewish man directed his eyes in prayer,[1] and every one who was able went at least once up to the feast at Jerusalem. Then the city and surrounding villages were filled. From midnight on, the frequenters at the feast collected in the courts of the temple. The Diaspora of the whole earth were then assembled in order to greet the home of their people, their faith, their God. "Hear we not every one in our own tongue?" can the Acts of the Apostles say in its description of the day of Pentecost—"Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, and the Romans in Jerusalem, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians."[2] According to Josephus, at many feasts there were not less than three millions of male guests present.[3] It was of such days that the Gospel of Luke was thinking when it makes the boy Jesus, when twelve years old, lost in the crowd at the Passover, and his parents make not a single attempt to find him, but must content themselves with the hope that some Galilean or other will bring him back to their train. That such a sanctuary impressed a specific character upon the life of the city, and indeed of the whole district, can well be understood. Persistent bigotry and fanatical zeal have always distinguished a people whose every interest has been united with such a sanctuary. The inhabitants of Judæa formed no exception to this rule. They lived upon the concourse of pilgrims, and the important sums which flowed yearly from the entire Diaspora into the temple treasury benefited them either directly or indirectly.[4] But they brought, too, of their own

[1] Even when abroad, as, for example, of Daniel it is said, "His windows being open in his chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before God" (Daniel vi. 10).

[2] Acts ii. 8—11. [3] Bell. vi. 9, 3.

[4] [Antiquities?] xviii. 9, 1, 2. The communities of Apamea, Laodicea, Adramythium and Pergamus had in the year 62 collected a sum for the temple tax equal to £8250, which the prætor Flaccus confiscated. Cic. pro Flacco, 28. It can thus be well understood that the temple passed for the richest in Asia.

possessions into the temple; money for the poor's-box; doves, lambs, oxen, for the sacrifice; wood for the altar; and a thousand other gifts. The revenue of the temple supported a numberless body of priests and Levites. The priestly class alone numbered four-and-twenty courses.[1] In addition, there were the persons of yet lower rank, the Levites, whose duty it was to attend to the guarding of the temple and maintenance of order, the singing and music; the cleansing, the maintenance, the building and keeping in repair of the sanctuary; the obtaining and charge of the supplies; the manufacture of the garments; the preparation of stuffs, utensils and vessels; their ever necessary cleansing, testing and consecration; matters which were so complicated and multifarious, that priests and Levites spent their whole lives in learning them, and a considerable number of them were employed solely in instructing the novices properly. In addition to this numerous body of priests occupied in the temple, there were the immense number of those who lived upon the temple indirectly, as lodging-house-keepers during the festivals, as purveyors of cattle, wood, oil, wine, or cloth, and a hundred other things. No wonder, then, that here, in addition to the veneration for the temple which manifested itself throughout all Judaism, a fanaticism displayed itself, which distinguished the people of Jerusalem and Judæa essentially from the Galileans, pious and patriotic as the latter were.

Moreover, the seat of the theocracy was at the same time the seat of the Sanhedrin, which represented the sum of public power left to the Jewish people. Consequently all the Rabbinical, learned elements were here collected together. Not less than 480 synagogues were contained in this city, which was only of very moderate size, to which again were attached numberless Sopherim, Archisynagogoi, Presbyteroi, Chaberim, disciples, precentors, and attendants. Thus Jerusalem was the seat of all the celebrated schools of learning, the theatre of the controversies, the place where the teachers gave their instruction,

[1] Jos. Vita, 1.

the arena of the theological parties—in short, the capital of the Jewish nation so pre-eminently, that only the exclusiveness of the one temple could have created. It was natural, therefore, that such a capital should exercise a most decisive influence upon the district which immediately surrounded it. The country population, shut off in their valleys from all other influences, were acquainted only with that spiritual interest which the temple life cherished. At every festival they flocked in crowds to the temple, for the proximity of the temple brought, too, increased obligations. "The man who is near," says the Jubilees, "and does not come to the Passover when he is clean, shall be cut off."[1] How strong this feeling was, is shown by the fact that the proconsul Cestius, in the year 66 A.D., in spite of the war, found Lydda empty, as the entire body of the inhabitants had gone to the temple festival at Jerusalem.[2] But even during the time when there were no feasts, the incidents of private life led them individually to the temple, and the surrounding villages, year in, year out, saw troops of pilgrims pass through their streets singing psalms, as, for example, when the congregations brought their firstlings to the temple, where the donors might themselves consume them. The fruits and animals were borne along in baskets. Before the procession walked the bullock which was destined for the peace-offering, with an olive wreath on its gilded horns, the entire procession being accompanied with the music of pipes, until the temple hill was reached. Then as they ascended they were met by the temple officials, while they sang, "Our feet stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem!" In the fore-court the songs of the Levites welcomed the pilgrims. Such and similar customs, as for example the feast of wood, when the country people brought wood to the temple, in order to provide for the perpetual fire;[3] the encænia, when Jerusalem beamed in garlands of fire; the feast of Tabernacles, when Israel dwelt under the open sky; all this obtained a far stronger hold

[1] Jubil. cap. 49. [2] Bell. ii. 19, 1. [3] Bell. ii. 17, 6.

upon the mind of the men of Judæa than it did those of the Galileans or Jews of the Diaspora, who dwelt at a distance.

Especially the last-named feast, that of Tabernacles, was in this district, as the example of the inhabitants of Lydda, already mentioned, shows, a feast of the people, of which it was proverbially said, "Who has not seen this joy, has not seen the glory of Israel!" The temple was illuminated at night; in the fore-court there were torchlight dances the whole night through, the harps, dulcimers, drums, tymbals and trumpets of the Levites resounded. At the break of day the people accompanied the priests to the pool of Siloam, where the water was drawn in a golden vessel, which the priest afterwards poured out upon the altar in the temple.[1] It was of this feast the fourth Gospel says, "Now in the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth in me, as the scripture saith, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water."[2]

The poorer their life upon the unfruitful Highlands of Judah otherwise was, the more did the people cherish the sanctuary which gave them all their pleasures as the apple of the eye. The wild and poor shepherds of the mountains of Judah always stood ready to obey every nod of the priests at Jerusalem, and most furiously did they give way to their rage when there was the insult of some Samaritan or the sacrilege of some Roman soldier to be avenged.[3] Their table-land was the proper and secure citadel of Judaism; for they had not, like the Galileans, taken part in the intercourse of the world, nor, like the inhabitants of Peræa, become entangled and mixed up with foreign culture, and thus the inhabitants hung tenaciously to old customs, in a way which is only possible for a mountain people shut off from the rest of the world. Life in these solitary valleys consisted, in the one house and in the other, in impressing the traditional law upon the young and practising it in the daily life. "We

[1] Grätz, 3, 122. [2] John vii. 37, 38. [3] Bell. ii. 12, 2, 4, 12, ii. 9, 3, 4.

Jews," says Josephus,[1] "neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise, nor in such a mixture with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. Our principal care of all is this, to educate our children well; and we think it to be of the most necessary business of our whole life, to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety which have been handed down to us." . . . "Nor can any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives; but all our works are common to us all. We have one sort of discourse concerning God, which is conformable to our law, and affirms that He sees all our doings. That all things ought to have piety for their end, anybody may hear from our women and servants themselves. Hence hath arisen that accusation which some make against us, that we have not produced men that have been the inventors of new operations, or of new ways of thinking; for others think it a fine thing to persevere in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and these testify it to be an instance of the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress these traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor supposals which are contrary to our original laws."[2]

This certainly is only the one side of the peculiarly tenacious customs of the Jewish household which presented itself in the most profound peace; but in times of war, as those of which we are treating, this exclusively religious direction of life developed into a fanaticism of a most extreme character. Their patriotic aversion to foreigners, and their religious susceptibilities to the Gentile cultus, were among the population of this district in a constant state of ferment, and at every feast the country people were assured anew by Rabbis and priests and fanatical popular prophets, that Jehovah would for no long time more endure the revilings of the Gentile. This character of the people had com-

[1] Josephus, c. Apion, i. 12. [2] Apion, ii. 20.

pelled Herod to erect five times as many fortresses in Judæa as in Galilee; but in spite of them, the robbers and bandits of the mountains of Judah had never ceased making war in the name of Jehovah against the existent dominion. The most gross superstition prevailed in the villages and hovels. Not seldom did the most raving Messiahs deceive the bigoted masses, who to-day followed one prophet to the Mount of Olives, in order to behold him overthrow the walls of the Gentile Jerusalem;[1] to-morrow, another to the Jordan, in order to be led by him dry-shod[2] through the river; and then, yet unwarned, to follow a third into the wilderness, in order to await with him the signs of the Son of Man of Daniel.[3]

These are phenomena which were never announced as occurring in Galilee. Certainly, when one remembers how thickly this little land was strewn with sanctuaries, how strongly this thinly scattered population, hemmed in by deserts and shut off from intercourse with the world, was interfused with priests, orders, anchorites, Rabbis and Rabbis' disciples,—how all the exalted elements of the whole country had been collected here from time immemorial,[4]—we can well understand that these people were acquainted with only one idea—Jehovah and His Temple; and that beyond this—of their own or of a foreign power, of the means of commerce or of the conduct of war, or of the political situation of affairs—they had not the least presentiment; but knew one thing alone, that Jehovah was Lord, and that to the children of Abraham had the promise of the inheritance of the earth been made.[5]

[1] Bell. ii. 13, 5. [2] Ant. xx. 5, 1. [3] Bell. ii. 13, 4; Matt. xxiv. 24—26.
[4] Tac. Hist. v. 12. [5] Bell. ii. 16, 4.

4. The Territory East of the Jordan.

The territory east of the Jordan, following the country watered the river Hieromax, extends as far as Mount Alsadamus bel Haurân); on the south, however, it retires before the roaching desert, so that the lower valley of the Jordan is arated from it only by a narrow mountain-land. The broad thern basis of this territory consists of the districts of Gau-ITIS, ITURÆA, TRACHONITIS, AURANITIS, and BATANÆA.

GAULANITIS, which rises on the east of the lake of Genezareth,[1] much in common with Galilee, except that we pass out of region of chalk into that of basalt. Instead of flat table-ds we have steep peaks and picturesque ridges, which give the rict a severer appearance. In the neighbourhood of the lower e lay HIPPOS,[2] a town of the Decapolis, as that alliance of ns was called which united the richest towns from Damascus he Arabian desert in a defensive and offensive league against nestic robbers and maurading Bedouins. Farther to the th, in the mountains, lay GAMALA,[3] and on the upper lake the tty town of JULIAS,[4] which the Tetrarch Philip had so named r the notorious daughter of the emperor.

To the north of the district of Gaulanitis lies ITURÆA, a untainous territory situated on the eastern declivity of rmon, with many ravines and inaccessible valleys in its rocks, inhabitants of which, favoured by the locality, lived on nder, and were a great trouble to the merchants from Da-scus. The descriptions of the geographers vividly call to id the present condition of these districts. "The mountain-ds," says Strabo, "are infested with Ituræans and Arabs, the ple of them being robbers; in the plains dwell husbandmen, , always being annoyed by them, are always needing foreign stance."[5] In Hermon and Lebanon the Ituræans had fortified

[1] Antiq. viii. 2, 3, xiii. 15, 4; Bell. iii. 3, 1.
[2] Plin. v. 15, 18 (16).
[3] Suet. Tit. 4.
[4] Plin. v. 15, 16; Ptolem. v. 16.
[5] Strabo, 16, 2 (753—756).

places of assembly, whence issued armed bands that advanced even to Sidon and Berytos on the coast, and to the gates of Damascus on the east. The sterility of their barren and craggy rocks, which did not repay cultivation, and the proximity of the great roads of commerce, had almost compelled the inhabitants to adopt this manner of life.[1] They were skilled archers and bold horsemen. The arrow of the Ituræan was proverbial among the legions,[2] which nevertheless regarded them as the vilest dregs of their allies.[3] Their frontiers varied according to their fortune in war, whence can be explained the want of agreement in the ancient accounts.

Still farther extended towards Damascus, and partly flanking it on the north, lay the district of TRACHONITIS, a rugged basaltic tract, which derives its name from the Trachōnes, "rugged mountains difficult of access, in which capacious caves were to be found, one of them being capable of containing 4000 men assembled for those attacks which the inhabitants of Damascus everywhere experienced."[4] The capital, KANATH, on the caravan road, belonged to the Decapolis, and was protected from the bands of mountain robbers by strong Roman fortifications, traces of which are yet to be seen.[5] In all other respects it was much worse here than in Ituræa. "The country," says Josephus, "was inhabited by a very miserable race of people, who plundered the territory of Damascus; they possessed neither towns nor fields, but only subterranean dens and caves, where they and their cattle lived in common together. They had provided themselves with abundance of water and provisions, so that by narrowing the entrance into their dens they were able to make a very long resistance. Their dwellings were not elevated above the surface of the soil, but resembled it in their appearance."[6]

[1] Apul. Flor. i. 6: frugum pauperes Ityrei.

[2] Cæs. Bell. Alex. 20. "Usu sagittæ periti," says Vibius Sequester, ed. Hessel, p. 155; Virgil, Georgics, ii. 448; Lucan Pharsal. vii. 230, 514.

[3] Cic. Philipp. ii. 8, 44, xiii. 8. [4] Strabo, 16, 2. [5] Plin. v. 16.

[6] Antiq. xv. 10, 1; Ptol. v. 15, 5, 26, 17, 7; Cap. Dio. 54, 9.

Herod ravaged here like a Turk, but no good was produced except for a brief period.[1] At last he established several military colonies in the district, whose patrols, being always on the march, managed to keep the bands under tolerable restraint.[2] Between Gaulanitis and Mount Alsadamus[3] extended the district of AURANITIS, which is the plain of Haurân, richly watered by the tributaries of the river Hieromax, but treeless. A wide champaign with an endless succession of corn-fields, it was the granary of Damascus; but even then had the fellah to follow the plough with his weapon upon his shoulder, unless his furrows were formed immediately under the protection of the town walls. The numerous ruins of villages and hamlets, all built of the hard basalt, witness to the earlier prosperity of the district. The most important town was ASTAROTH, whose name calls to mind the ancient heathenism.

BATANÆA, finally, included the mountains of Haurân and the district which extended southwards as far as the desert. Juicy meadows and noble forests of oaks alternated on the mountains, which sometimes attain a height of nearly 6000 feet, and in their vegetation call to remembrance a far more northerly climate. To the north of them had Herod established his military colony of BATHYRA, in order to watch the inhabitants of Trachonitis; on the southern frontier the Romans had built the fortress of BOSTRA, in order to keep the Arabians in check.[4]

In all these districts there had constantly dwelt a pretty numerous population of Jews,[5] but the native inhabitants were Syrian, and in the towns were intermingled with Arabians, Greeks and Phœnicians,[6] so that the connection of these districts with Judæa was only occasioned through the common dynasty of the Herods, which certainly did not prevent the rabble from

[1] Antiq. xvi. 9, 1. [2] Antiq. xvi. 9, 2, xvii. 2, 1. [3] Ptol. 5, 15.

[4] The fortress dates from the reign of Trajan. The town is mentioned, Cic. ad Q. fr. ii. 12, 3; Ptol. 5, 17; Ammian. Marc. 14, 8. Its identity with ancient Bozrah is doubtful.

[5] Bell. ii. 18, 2, 3, 5, 6. [6] Bell. ii. 18, 1, 6; Antiq. xvii. 11, 4.

beyond the mountains collecting in masses in the disturbances in Judæa.[1]

The Jewish element was much more strongly represented in PERÆA, the district which extended from the Hieromax down to the Arnon, between the Jordan and the desert.[2] Its most outlying places, which project on to the very edge of the desert, were GERASA, a handsome commercial town, whose temple, bridges, aquaducts, colonnades, amphitheatre and public buildings, at the present day, still bear witness to the greatness and splendour of this magnificent city of the Decapolis;[3] farther south, PHILADELPHIA, the ancient capital of the children of Ammon,[4] and at this time the southern vanguard of the ten towns against the Arabians; and lastly, on the eastern declivity of the mountains of Abarim, the beautifully situated HESBON, to whose pools the poet of the Song of Songs compared the laughing eyes of his Sulamite.[5]

On the northern edge of the plateau—for to the south of the Hieromax we have again passed into the chalk formation, and the long-continued horizontal mountain-ridges have taken the place of the sharper outlines of the upper district—nearly hidden in the mountains, lies PELLA, upon a broad hill, from which numerous streams flow down into the well-watered valleys below.[6] The name may have been given to this fortified town of the Decapolis by Alexander's veterans,[7] who had obtained domiciles in most of these towns. This pleasant mountain town was, during the Jewish war, to the little community of Christians, according to the promises of John, "a place prepared of God, where they were nourished a time, two times, and half a time."[8]

[1] Bell. iii. 10, 10.
[2] Bell. iii. 3, 3.
[3] Bell. ii. 18, 5; Antiq. xiii. 15, 5; Plin. v. 16.
[4] Bell. i. 6, 3, 19, 5; Plin. v. 16.
[5] Song of Songs, vii. 4.
[6] "Pellam aquis divitem," Plin. v. 16. Robinson, Biblical Researches, iii. 322.
[7] Similarly to Apanea, which the Macedonians also called Pella. Strabo, xvi. 2, 10.
[8] Revelation xii. 6, 14; Eusebius, iii. 5.

In fact, the storm of war which raged severely enough in all the other places in Peræa, passed over here without doing any damage. In a similar manner, on the northern border of Peræa, but turned round towards the lake of Tiberias above the narrow ravine through which the Hieromax descends into the Jordan, lies the district of GADARA. Warm sulphurous medicinal springs, which emit clouds of vapour, occasioned the foundation of this watering-place, which Pompeius had re-erected from its ruins at the request of a freed-man. The streets paved with basalt, the colonnades of Corinthian pillars, the massive Roman buildings, betray its modern origin. Belonging to the Decapolis, it was united to Scythopolis on the other side of the river by a military road which led over Pella to Damascus.[1] Its territory was not small, so that it was possible to speak of a district of Gadaritis.[2] In the neighbourhood of the town, graves are yet to be seen, excavated in the caves of the limestone declivities, of which Matthew viii. 28 is thinking: "And when Jesus was come to the other side [Peræa] into the country of the Gadarenes, there met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way."

From the Hieromax to the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea there run to the east of the Jordan the mountains of GILEAD, that with their forests of ever-green oaks, pines and pistachio trees, almost resemble a German landscape. Here lie the fresh mountain meadows which had occasioned the speech of the children of Reuben and Gad: "The country which Jehovah smote is a land for cattle, and thy servants have cattle. Bring us not over Jordan."[3]

The well-watered valley and lateral valleys of the JABBOK divide the mountains into a northern and southern part, of which the southern has fewer forests, but is not less fruitful. Pleasant towns crowned the declivity; among them, a little to the north of the valley of the Jabbok, is the pleasant AMATHUS, which

[1] Antiq. xiv. 3, 4. [2] Bell. iii. 10, 10.

[3] Numbers xxxii. 1—4; compare Song of Songs, iv. 1, 6, 5.

Gabinius intended to make the capital of a transjordanic republic: to its south, Beth Haran,[1] in a ravine of the valley between the mountains of Gilead and Pisgah, which Antipas named LIVIAS in honour of the empress-mother, opposite to Jericho and like it in miniature.

With the mountains of PISGAH we enter into a wild inaccessible region abounding in traditions. Deeper in the mountains, on MOUNT NEBO, is said to be the grave of Moses, "but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."[2] Jeremiah alone, according to tradition, once climbed up in order to conceal there the tabernacle and ark of the covenant saved from the Chaldeans. There he found a hollow cave in which he deposited his sacred treasures, stopping up the door from the outside, and some of those that followed him came to mark the way, but they were no longer able to find the door.[3] Mount PEOR was another peak, from which once Balaam was to have cursed the Israelites and, instead, blessed them.[4] In a wild valley which runs up from the shores of the Dead Sea to the highest ridge of the mountains, the steep ATTARUS, lay the celebrated warm baths of CALLIRHOË, which were to have relieved Herod in his last illness; and above, on the steepest declivity of Attarus itself, was perched the fortified town and fortress of MACHÆRUS, the place next in strength to Jerusalem,[5] whose watch-towers and turrets had been built for the purpose of observing the Arabians. Herod had built rich palaces in this airy fortress, where afterwards his son Antipas kept John the Baptist in imprisonment. Springs similar to those of Callirhoë bubbled up here, too, and thus Machærus was at once a mountain residence and watering-place for the wives of the Tetrarch. At a later period, a Roman garrison was quartered in the town, which ingloriously capitulated at the outbreak of the war.[6]

For a purely Jewish population, even in Peræa below the Hieromax, there can so far no claim be made. Whilst in the

[1] Antiq. xiv. 5, 4; Ptol. v. 16; Strabo, xvi. 2 (p. 763). [2] Deut. xxxiv. 6.
[3] 2 Macc. ii. 5, 6. [4] Numb. xxiii. 28. [5] Plin. 5, 15. [6] Bell. ii. 18, 6.

north the Syrian element had taken a firm hold, in the south the population was more mingled with half-Arabian tribes. In the war, the territory belonging to the Decapolis held aloof from the insurrection, which points to a preponderance in the Gentile population in the north, as well as in the district from Pella to Philadelphia.[1]

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5. The Neighbouring Nations.

Among the neighbours of the Jews the Arabs were at this time the most troublesome, for they were not included in the Roman treaties of peace, and from the very nature of their habitations their actual overthrow was almost impossible. The inhospitable, waterless and treeless sandy steppes which extend from the Arabian peninsula up to and across the Euphrates, running on the west to the Syrian line of mountains, and on the east to the Euphrates and Tigris, have been from time immemorial the home of the sons of Ishmael. To the south of this district, the Nabatheans had since the time of the first διάδοχοι[2] founded a powerful state, which held sway from the Dead Sea to the Ælanitic Gulf, and of which the peninsula of Sinai formed the strong fortress.[3] Petra, the splendid residence of the Nabathean kings, lay in the ancient ancestral territory of the children of Edom, between the magnificent sandstone pillars of the mountains of Seir. It was conveniently placed as the capital of this district in the saddle of the peninsulas of Sinai and Arabia; here, too, the two great caravan-roads crossed each other, of which the one led from Gaza to the mouth of the Euphrates, and the other from Damascus over Jericho to the Arabian Gulf.[4] In the harbours of the Nabatheans the wares

[1] Jos. Vita, 65.

[2] The name given by the historians to the successors of Alexander the Great.

[3] Diod. iii. 43; Strabo, 16, 4 (p. 776 f.).

[4] Plin. vi. 32, 3; Strabo, 16, 4 (p. 783).

of the Mediterranean were exchanged for those of the Indies, and in the west a great opinion was held as to their opulence. Even the ruins of Petra, whose palaces in the rock and sepulchral monuments vie with those of Palmyra and Ba'albek, testify to a luxury and splendour of civilization far exceeding that of contemporary Judaism. The court of Petra, too, partook of the interests of the great powers in a way quite different to that of Jerusalem, in that upon the one side it controlled the Indian trade of Egypt, upon the other the caravan trade of the Parthian kingdom, and penetrating along the caravan-road towards Jericho, came into conflict even with Rome. A numerous colony of Roman and Greek strangers kept the Arab king informed about the affairs of the Roman world,[1] and he was powerful enough to occasionally attract the attention of the emperor most earnestly upon himself. For the Jews, especially, with whom the Nabathean kings were always engaged in border conflicts, they were the most unsuitable of neighbours, and of the three nations whom the soul of the son of Sirach abhorred, he gave the first place to the nation "that sit on Mount Seir."[2]

But even more troublesome than the Nabathean kings were the Bedouins, tent Arabs,[3] the several tribes of which, under their own sheikhs, pitched their encampments now here, now there, in order to pasture their camels, and on their fleet steeds follow the chase, but most especially to take passage toll from the caravans.[4] The majority were under the sovereignty of some neighbouring state, and helped now the Parthians and now the Nabatheans in their wars. For the tribute which they had to pay to their lords, some, either of their own tribe which had settled down in these lands or of their allies, had as a rule to give a warrant.[5] They gave the Jews much trouble through their intrigues with the people of Trachonitis and Ituræa, in

[1] Strabo, 16, 4.

[2] Ecclesiasticus l. 28, according to the reading of Vet. Lat.; comp. Douay Version.

[3] σκηνῖται in Strabo, 16, 1; Plin. vi. 32, 1.

[4] Strabo, 16, 1.

[5] Antiq. xv. 4, 4; Strabo, i. c.

that they willingly lent their support to the disorders there.[1] Moreover, they were themselves difficult to reach: the desert, the heat of the sun, unwholesome water and epidemics were their allies, which inflicted more mischief upon the Romans and Jews in every war with the Arabs, than did the sons of the desert, who hastened away upon their camels.[2]

Beyond the Euphrates again were the Parthians, a perpetual source of anxiety to the Jewish population, which had been betrayed into the Roman alliance, but yet were little protected against Parthian raids. There were four legions in Syria, it is true, as a reserve against any dangers which might there threaten, and a strong military line on the Euphrates was supposed to protect the province, yet there was the most notorious of the frontiers of the empire, and beyond the river were encamped the trooper kings, always ready to break in upon Syria whenever the court at Ctesiphon gave the signal. They were the dreaded scourge of that time, and not only has Horace given expression to the abhorrence with which the Roman youth regarded the garrisons on the Euphrates,[3] but even the writer of the Revelation sees there expressly four angels of death bound, which were prepared against the hour and day and month and year, that they might slay the third part of men.[4] The number of the armies of the horsemen he estimates as two hundred thousand thousand, and gives a fantastic picture of the horses and their riders; how with their breastplates red as fire, and blue as smoke, and yellow as brimstone, they pour over the earth at the last judgment, across the dried-up Euphrates, as an army of hell.[5] Almost in similar terms have the Roman historians described the tumultuous squadrons of the Parthians; how they now mass themselves together for a terrible charge, now in their skirmishing lines swarm around the legions; man and steed glittering in scale armour and coloured leathern collars; with

[1] Antiq. xvi. 9, 1. [2] Strabo, xvi. 4; Cass. Dio. 53, 29; Antiq. xv. 5, 3.
[3] Horace, Odes, ii. 13, i. 12, i. 19; compare also Cass. Dio. 40, 17, 18.
[4] Revelation ix. 15. [5] Rev. ix. 14, &c.

lances, bows and slings; their ensigns interwoven with silk and gold fluttering over them; their helmets and equipments of steel casting bright rays far and wide, and deafening the ears with their clattering kettle-drums.[1] Only too often had Judæa to endure this scourge of Heaven, and to hear the trumpet proclaim, "Loose the four angels which are bound on the great river Euphrates, that they may slay the third part of men."[2] When they fell upon the land, sweeping through the most distant valleys on their swift horses of the desert, the rape of women, mutilation of men, wanton conflagration and cowardly massacres were the order of the day, and the corps of the élite, the "invulnerable" and the "freemen," even surpassed the common crowd in faithlessness, perjury and treachery.[3]

With another burden did Rome oppress this little land from ANTIOCH, and with even more anxiety than towards the Euphrates were the looks of the Jewish population directed towards this seat of the proconsul, asking what violation of the law, what idolatries, what profanation of the temple, the Roman eagle, the beast of which the book of Daniel had already prophesied, would suspend over the sacred land?

Even the principalities similarly wedged in between the oppressions of the Roman and the Parthian kingdoms, and that were subject, in part to decaying princes of the house of the Seleucidæ, in part to growing emirs of the Bedouins, COMMAGENE and EDESSA on the upper Euphrates, APAMEA, ARETHUSA and EMESA between Antioch and Damascus, were to be counted for the most part among the enemies of the Jews. More especially was this the case as regards the sheikhs of the tent Arabs, which had never been expelled from the district between the Euphrates and the mountains of Amanus; and in the immediate neighbourhood of Lebanon, during the downfall of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, a predatory state had arisen which long inflicted immense mischief upon the rising kingdom

[1] Cass. Dio. 40, 15; similarly Appian and Plutarch. Antiq. xiv. 13; Bell. i. 13.

[2] Rev. ix. 13.

of the Herods. Ptolemæus, the son of Mennæus, had founded a dominion here which embraced, in the lands east of the Jordan, BATANÆA, AURANITIS, TRACHONITIS and ITURÆA;[1] to which were united, on the eastern declivity of Hermon, ABILENE; and between Hermon and Lebanon, in the plain of Marsyas, the principality of CHALCIS, with several fortresses on the other side of Lebanon, on the sea to the north and south of Tripolis.[2] This union of deserts, mountains and coast left the caravan-roads, the passes and the harbours at the mercy of robbers; and by a lucky combination of piracy with highway robbery, Ptolemæus had become the richest and most powerful of the Syrian robber-princes; for from his fortresses on the sea-coast he combined with the Cilician pirates in attacking the merchant ships of the Phœnician ports, and from his robber-castles among the mountains of Trachonitis, in combination with Arabians, did he attack the caravans of the merchants of Damascus. His place of residence varied according as the time of year promised the better harvest on the sea or on the roads of the desert. He held a luxurious court, and in the doings of his seraglio was excelled by none. After he had offered an asylum to the exiled branches of the Maccabæan house, and had married their daughters to his sons, he became the executioner of his own son, because enamoured of one of the beautiful women of the Maccabees, whom after this murder of her husband he took for his own wife.[3] When Pompeius, after the overthrow of Mithridates, established order in Syria, the mountain and maritime fortresses of this corsair were all destroyed: but while his neighbours and companions, the lords of Lysias, Tripolis and Byblos had to lay their heads upon the block, the rich son of Mennæus purchased his freedom and the continuance of his dominion for 1000 talents (£257,400).[4] Both

[1] Antiq. xv. 10, 3.

[2] Both in Ant. xiv. 7, 4, and Bell. i. 9, 2, does this Chalcis lie ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει. Van de Velde describes the great ruins in the upper valley of the Litany on the western declivity of Hermon by this name. Compare Strabo, Geogr. 16, 2 (p. 753); Dio. 37, 7; Appian, Mithrid. 106.

[3] Antiq. xiv. 1, 4; Bell. i. 9, 2.

[4] Antiq. xiv. 3, 2.

he and his son Lysanias were, as relatives of the Maccabees, most bitter enemies of Herod, their wealth rendering the expeditions of the pretenders possible. But even after Cleopatra, who was ever hungering after fresh territory, had persuaded Antonius to put Lysanias to death, in the year 34 B.C., because the latter had conspired with the Parthians, Herod had still no peace upon this quarter. The whole of the vast territory was mortgaged by Antonius to Zenodorus, the ruler of Ulatha and Paneas, in order to satisfy the avaricious Cleopatra.[1] To the annoyance of his neighbours, the mortgagee ventured to organize the system of robbery anew, and Augustus first put an end to the nuisance when in the year 23 B.C. he assigned the territory east of the Jordan to Herod; to whom, after the death of Zenodorus, Ulatha and Paneas were also allotted for the purpose of rounding off his northern frontier.

DAMASCUS, which in the course of our period fell several times into the hands of the Arabs, was in consequence of its large Jewish population more friendly to Jerusalem than any other town in the Decapolis, where usually the friends of the Jews seldom dwelt.

On the PHŒNICIAN COAST it was different. Even at the first conquest of the Holy Land, the tribe of Asher had not been in a position to overthrow the mighty towns of the plain and the coast; for the Hebrew was a bad horseman, and had little trust in the sea, consequently he had been defeated in the plain, and could not even venture to attack the towns on the coast. Before Sidon and Tyre, not only had the armies of Barak and David, but even the power of the Maccabees and the intrigues of the Herods, been put to shame. On Carmel, on the other hand, the Jews had firmly planted themselves, and from thence downwards the entire coast, with the exception of Ascalon, belonged to them. Alexander Jannæus was on the point of adding even Ptolemais to his kingdom when he died; whereupon party contests first hindered the foreign expeditions, and then induced

[1] Antiq. xv. 10, 1; Dio. 49, 32.

the interference of the Romans, who restored their own self-government to the coast towns, under Roman sovereignty.

SIDON, and TYRE which was situated 200 stadia farther south, were even yet important seats of commerce. The changed conditions of the world had, it is true, put an end to their monopoly of trade and torn away their colonies; but the industrious citizens only threw themselves the more eagerly into the production of those articles in which they could scorn all competition.[1] They had still the greatest spinning mills, dye and glass works. To the production of the purple dye were attached a series of other trades. The circumstance that wool receives such an intense and beautiful colour from the purple shell-fish, kept the wool manufactory especially in activity, and occasioned an immense trade in wool in all the harbours. Not only were Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, their sources of supply, but also Tarentium, Miletus,[2] Attica, and even Coraxi and Massilia.[3] The wool, as it arrived, was carefully purified and then hot dyed, and when thus finished was woven,[4] or else it was worked up undyed, and the texture received stripes and figures in purple by means of printing.[5] The finished stuffs were then sent by sea or the caravan trade to all known countries and towns, unless some corsair or Bedouin captain in the immediate neighbourhood seized upon the whole cargo. To the south of Tyre lay ECDIPPA and the beautiful harbour of PTOLEMAIS, in whose neighbourhood, on the little stream of the Belus, were situated the great glass works, which had a reputation hardly inferior to that of the Tyrian dyes. The sand which the Belus deposits, as well as the drift sand driven over by the west wind from the coast, produced the fine material which was melted down in numerous furnaces and worked up into the smooth-shaped, cut and coloured glass, and all kinds of glass and crystal ware.[6]

[1] Strabo, xvi. 2; Plin. 5, 17.
[2] Ezekiel xxvii. 8.
[3] Beer, Handelsgeschichte, 1, 42.
[4] Virgil, Georgics, iii. 307.
[5] Grothe, Geschichte der Wollmanufaktur im Alterthum, Deutsche v. Jahrsschr. 116, 2, s. 271.
[6] Plin. Hist. Nat. 36, 66, 67; Jos. Bell. ii. 10, 2.

From DORA to JOPPA the steepish coast afforded no greater harbours, until Herod built the noble artificial harbour of CÆSAREA, near the ancient Straton's Tower. It surpassed the Piræus in size, and the new seat of trade offered a dangerous competition to Sidon and Tyre, from the magnificence of its quays, its halls, magazines and bazaars, and all the conveniences of a trade market.[1] Moreover, everything here was splendid, modern and practical. Even for Judæa was Cæsarea the most important town of Palestine. Here the Roman procurator had his seat; here was the Roman post, the garrison,[2] and in regal times the residence of the reigning Herod.[3] Most of the travellers to Jerusalem coming by sea landed here, as, for example, in several of his journeys did the Apostle Paul touch at Cæsarea.[4] A vagrant population of sailors, workmen and traders soon filled the new town, where from the first the Syrian and Greek elements preponderated.[5] Jews and Syrians violently contested the possession of municipal rights, which after the death of Herod passed almost exclusively into the hands of the Syrians, to whom Nero finally expressly adjudged them.[6] Joppa, whose harbour had never been deemed quite secure, fell into decay at the rise of Cæsarea; yet here things were more favourable to the Jews, and their claim to this place was generally recognized at Rome.[7] LYDDA, too, was Jewish;[8] JAMNIA passed out of the hands of Herod into those of Salome, and then into those of the empress Livia, so that this municipal district, pleasantly situated on the sea in the valley Sorek, had quite an exceptional position.[9] The ancient seat of the Derceto-worship, Ascalon,[10] had, on the other hand, preserved its Syrian character, and even during Herod's reign remained a free city. It was the same with the

[1] Bell. i. 21, 7; Ant. xv. 9, 6; Strabo, 16, 2; Plin. v. 14; Ptol. v. 16.
[2] Acts xxiii. 23, xxiv. 27, xxv. 1; Bell. ii. 12, 5.
[3] Antiq. xix. 8, 2.
[4] Acts ix. 30, xviii. 22, xxi. 7, 8, xxiii. 23.
[5] Bell. i. 21, 7.
[6] Bell. ii. 13, 7, 14, 4.
[7] Antiq. xiv. 10, 6, xvii. 11, 4; Bell. ii. 18, 10.
[8] Bell. ii. 1, 19, 1.
[9] Bell. ii. 6, 3; Antiq. xviii. 2, 2.
[10] Bell. i. 21, 11; compare Pliny v. 13.

ancient town of the Philistines, ASHDOD. GAZA was of importance commercially from its near connection with the Ælanitic gulf. To the south of Gaza extended sand-hills and downs; navigation came to an end; and RAPHIA and RHINOCURURA were mentioned merely as stations upon the caravan-road to Egypt.[1] These Phœnician towns had together territory to their rear, now of less and now of greater amount, which usually, however, extended as far as the foot of the mountains of Ephraim and Judah. The southern coast is sandy and abounds in shallows and reefs; the mountains, too, here approach nearer to the shore. The less possibility there was of an important commerce here, the farther was it possible for the Jews to extend, and again contest the possession of these downs on which ancient Israel had done battle with the Philistines. At Ashdod once had stood the house of Dagon, the god of the Philistines, half-man, half-fish, the proper tutelar deity of a seafaring people. This was the god by whom Goliath swore, and whose temple it was that Samson at his death pulled down the pillars, so that the house of Dagon was overthrown. Upon these downs the Philistines defeated the wicked sons of Eli, when they put the ark of God in the house of Dagon until Jehovah smote them with emerods. Joppa is the Japho to which Hiram sent the cedar-wood that Solomon caused to be dragged up the steep ravines of the valleys for building the temple in Jerusalem. Here is the roadstead where Jonah embarked on his stormy voyage; whence, too, Scarus, the legate of Pompey, first in the year 64 B.C. sent petrified fragments of the sea-monster to Rome, which the Greeks asserted were those of the sea-dragon that had threatened Andromeda, and the Jews those of the fish that had swallowed Jonah.[2] But to the New Testament history also is the district familiar in which Samson caught his foxes and David fought the giant. In this border-land of Jew and Gentile do the traditions of the Apostle Peter place the greatest deeds of

[1] Bell. i. 14, 2; Strabo, 16, 2. [2] Pliny, Hist. Nat. 9, 4; comp. James iii. 7.

their hero. Behind the downs which separated Lydda and Joppa, had Peter healed the lame man that had kept his bed eight years, and was sick of the palsy, and in consequence of this miracle they led the Apostle along the sandy road to Joppa, where he raised Tabitha, the woman full of good works, from the dead. There, too, on the sea was the house of Simon the tanner, with its flat roof, on to which Peter went up about the sixth hour, and he had a vision, and he became very hungry, and the Lord bade him arise and eat, but only spread unclean food before him which it was not lawful for a Jew to eat, and whilst Simon considered what the vision meant, the messengers of the centurion Cornelius knocked below, who were sent to bid him come to the house of the Gentile.[1] In the same Joppa, too, the Epistle of James was probably written, which refers so often to the life of the shore and the traffic in the harbour, the fish and wonders of the sea. "Behold also the ships, though they be so great, and are driven by fierce winds, yet are turned about with a very small rudder whithersoever the desire of the helmsman willeth;" and the writer had in his mind's eye his Jewish brethren travelling through Joppa to Rome, when he says, "Go to, now, ye that say, To-day, or to-morrow, we will go into this city, and will spend there one year, and will traffic and get gain; whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow." So as we read the Epistle we everywhere hear the roaring of the sea, as when the writer tells us at the very beginning of the Epistle, "For he that doubteth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed."[2] On the neighbouring road from Gaza the evangelist Philip found the eunuch of queen Candace, who after he had understood the text concerning the suffering servant of God, said to Philip, "See, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?" and whilst, converted, he went on his way rejoicing, the Spirit caught away Philip to Ashdod. Here, then, was a border-land, and in each of these Phœnician towns was a

[1] Acts ix. x. [2] James iii. 4, iv. 13, i. 6.

strong Judaic element, whose constant attempts to mould their general character into that of Jewish towns, kept most rancorous contentions ever on foot.

In the Roman times these places were united into an alliance-of-towns, and allotted to Syria. Their constitution was chiefly aristocratic. In several, as in Tyre, Biblos and Tripolos, tyrants had managed in these troublous times to obtain the mastery for shorter or longer periods, either through the necessity of an undivided government or through Roman influence.[1]

Judæa in the south was separated from Egypt and Arabia by IDUMÆA, the only conquest of John Hyrcanus which Pompeius did not object to, on the ground that the isolation of Idumæa must of necessity be of advantage to the court of Alexandria or of Petra. During the exile, the sons of Edom had advanced beyond Hebron; but as the Jewish state again acquired strength, it drove them back once more to the south, until Hyrcanus totally defeated them and compelled them to be circumcised; while the southern district of the Edomites had been even previously incorporated with the kingdom of the Nabateans. A prefect was appointed over Jewish Idumæa, who had his seat in GAZA, and from his position on the caravan-road that ran from Gaza to Ælana was very powerful. Thus the father of Antipater had, as commercial agent between the Arabs and the corporations of Gaza and Ascalon, made himself, under Alexandra, the wealthiest man in the kingdom; his son was able to elevate himself to be even administrator of the state, and lay the foundations of the Idumæan dynasty. Another, Costobar, dared to contemplate even the creation of an independent principality.[2] Great authority was absolutely necessary for the Jewish governor, in order to keep these indomitable half-Arabs and their haughty sheikhs in order. Josephus has vividly described how, at times, like a whirlwind war broke out among these wild hordes, when either vengeance called these men into the field, or hunger drove them forth out of their parched mea-

[1] Antiq. xiv. 3, 2, 12, 1. [2] Antiq. xiv. 1, 3, xv. 7, 9.

dows, or a powerful ally sounded the alarm in their camp. Among the Jews they were considered as savages, whose sheikhs could be persuaded into any undertaking by flattery and promises of adventure. Were they won over, then the chiefs ran from the council among the tents as though they were mad, in order to incite the sons of the desert to war by their bombastic speeches and the waving of their spears. An expedition was to them a festival, and when once set free, they developed a blood-thirstiness which found a horrible delight in carnage and butchery, and only when completely worn out did their lust for blood usually abate.[1] In addition there was the characteristic charge which the Jews made against them, of a faithlessness that no treaty could restrain. Even their tribal-father Esau is represented by the writer of the Jubilees, with his sons, as not keeping the oath of peace which he swore unto Israel; "but they run on their horses like game on the spear about to impale them." Israel conceals himself behind the walls of his fortress, and shoots at the riders with his arrows; but Esau, reminded of the oath of peace which he has sworn, breaks out into the following words: "When I can change the skin and bristles of a pig so that they become wool, and when horns sprout forth from its head like the horns of a ram, then will I regard thee with brotherly love; and when wolves make peace with the lambs, then shall there be peace towards thee in my heart."[2]

Let us conclude our review of the neighbouring countries with EGYPT, where affairs were similar to those in the Syrian towns. Neither the Greek inhabitants of the towns, nor the Egyptian country people, were inclined to be friendly with their Jewish neighbours, who had forced themselves into their midst by the hundred thousand, and levied their contributions on the fertile valley of the Nile. Somewhat of the ancient hatred between the land of Mizraim and the children of Israel yet remained, and indeed upon both sides. Even the Jews of these

[1] Bell. iv. 4, 1, 2. [2] Jubil. cap. 37; Göttg. Jarb. 1851, p. 52.

latter times, as formerly the prophets, in the consciousness of their purer knowledge hated the imposing Egyptian priesthood, with its empty secrets and hierarchical symbols. They beheld in Egypt the incarnation of the most abominable heathenism. The command, Thou shalt not make thee any image or likeness, was nowhere more violated than on the banks of the Nile. Even Philo ventures the remark that the Egyptian religion was the grossest, in that it did not pay divine honour to heaven, but remained grovelling on the earth and in the mud of the Nile and its inhabitants.[1] Josephus declares in utmost scorn, that the Egyptians pray to crocodiles and apes, asps and cats;[2] and the description which the Apostle Paul gives of the abominations of heathenism, that it changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things,[3] had evidently Egyptian heathenism in his mind's eye also. The Jews themselves attributed the aversion, too, which they experienced in Alexandria to a reaction of the ancestral tribal enmity; and although the delight of the Hellenists in scandal and defamation gave the Jews most trouble, yet Josephus considers that the old Egyptian hatred of the children of Pharaoh was the true cause of all their calumniation. "As long," he says, "as Alexandria was in the hands of the Greeks and Macedonians, these raised no sedition against us, but permitted the ancient solemnities of worship to be observed. But when the number of Egyptians in Alexandria was increased, then discontent likewise sprang up."[4] They revived the ancient scandal that the children of Israel that Moses had led out of Egypt had been lepers, whom Pharaoh Amenophis desired to banish from the land.[5] And now Greeks and natives outbid each other in calumniating their Jewish

[1] Philo, Mos. lib. iii., Frankfurt edition, 682; Mang. 164; Leg. ad Caj. M. 569. Compare, too, Wisdom of Solomon, xi. 15, xii. 24, 27, xiii. 1; also the passionate passage, Jubil. 48, 49.

[2] Jos. c. Apion, ii. 7, 13; Sib. Fragment, ii. verse 21, &c., Friedlieb. page 5.

[3] Romans i. 23. [4] Jos. c. Apion, ii. 6. [5] Jos. c. Apion, i. 26.

fellow-citizens, who, as favourites of the Romans and as competitors in trade, were everywhere in their way. The most passionate contests between both parties were continued throughout the entire New Testament period, and could finally only come to an end with the defeat of the Alexandrian Judaism.

Second Division.

THE STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

1. The Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers.

The destruction of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, which had enabled so many robber-princes between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates to gain a territorial independence, had been of advantage to the Maccabean dynasty also in their labours for their nation.[1] In the brilliant successes of their kings, the Jewish people had willingly forgotten that a monarchical form of government was essentially opposed to the Law, and their religious scruples were easily quieted by the plea that the kingship was only "until there should arise a faithful prophet."[2] The tables of the constitution set up on Mount Zion charged the prince [נָשִׂיא ἡγουμενος], in the person of the Maccabean Simon, to take care of the sanctuary, and command of the army and the fortresses, and execution of public documents in the king's name and commission. "He alone should be clothed in purple and wear gold, and that it should be lawful for none of the people or priests to break any of his commands, or to gather an assembly without him."[3]

At the time when the first book of the Maccabees was com-

[1] Tacitus, Hist. v. 5.

[2] The bitter condemnation of the Maccabean friendship with the Romans in the prophecy of Moses belongs to a much later period.

[3] 1 Maccabees xiv. 41—45.

posed, those at the court of Hyrcanus regarded their recovered sovereignty with pride, and recounted how foreign ambassadors had with astonishment beheld the glory of Simon and the cupboard of gold and silver plate, and his great attendance.[1] Gladly did their thoughts revert to that first period of the Maccabees, which now they saw in the light of idealism. "Then," declares the writer of the first book of the Maccabees, "did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat all in the streets communing together of good things, and the young men clothed themselves with the honours of war. The king provided victuals for the cities, and set in them all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the earth. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy: for every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree, and there was none to fray them: neither was there any left in the land to fight against them. And Simon strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the law he searched out: and every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away. He beautified the sanctuary and multiplied the vessels of the temple."[2]

The more complete in every respect was the contrast under the *dominion of the Herods.* The Idumæans, certainly, had received the sceptre from the hands of the Romans invested with the same authority as that which Cæsar, in the year 48 B.C., had through various orders conferred upon the last of the Maccabees;[3] yet not, as the Maccabees, with the trophies of the battles they had won in their hands, but by the favour of the nation's enemies had they mounted the throne upon Mount Zion. They were neither the guardians of the theocratic life nor the representatives of the national power, but the deputies of the Gentile emperor, who had raised their path to sovereignty over the corpses of the bravest of patriots and an illustrious royal house. Instead of enjoying an honourable peace, Israel had now to

[1] 1 Maccabees xv. 32. [2] 1 Maccabees xiv. 8—15. [3] Antiq. xiv. 10.

fight the battles of the Romans, but no one in consequence longed "to wear the garments" of the Herods, or adorn themselves with "the honours of war." Even abroad, the Jewish name had, with the exception of that of the first Herod, no longer the same sound as in the time of the Maccabean Simon.[1] The tyrant of Jerusalem or the tetrarch of Galilee was hardly as highly estimated by the Romans as any other rex socius of the East, whose "barefooted kings"[2] were at the most treated by the citizens of the imperial city with a sovereign disdain. But the Herods especially, from their exceptional devotion and oriental self-surrender, were the object of Roman scorn, although at the same time they appear to have been not entirely inconsiderable as teachers of oriental despotism to the princes, and as servile courtiers to the Cæsars.[3] Within their own borders, however, these devoted courtiers of the imperial court were unconditional lords of life and death, except that at times a *quos ego* of the Syrian proconsul or a hint of the emperor reminded them that a lord was placed over them, who without much scruple could dispose of their crown, even of their liberty and life.[4]

A kingship thus constituted was little capable of rallying the nation around it. The more, therefore, did all the national sympathies cluster around the temple, the life of which was the people's joy and pride. In it the nation found its centre, and gladly would have again recognized in the high-priest the head of the country. The kingship was now perceived to be an institution thoroughly inconsistent with the theocracy, and it was openly made a subject of special lamentation that it had ever been tolerated.[5] Under such circumstances, the *dignity of the high-priest* was of itself raised in popular estimation, and the interest which the whole people took in the services of the

[1] 1 Maccabees xv. 15. [2] Juvenal, Satires, vi. 159.
[3] Strabo, xvi. 2; Cass. Dio. 59, 24.
[4] Bell. iii. 10, 10, i. 27, 4; Antiq. xvi. 9, 3, xix. 8, 1.
[5] Antiq. xiv. 3, 2, xvii. 11, 1.

temple, gave to the bearer of the highest office in the temple an ideal importance, which stood in all the greater contrast to its practical insignificance. The son of Sirach, who wrote at the commencement of the subjection to Syria, has described for us, under similar conditions, the grounds on which this secret of the high-priest's authority rested. He celebrates it as the reflection of the sacred functions, of which the brightness beamed back upon the bearer of the office, and invested him with the glory of a genuine majesty. "When Simon, the son of Onias," he declares in a retrospect of the past, "came forth from behind the curtain of the sanctuary, he was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full: and as the sun shining upon the temple of the Most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds: as fire and incense in the censer, and as a vessel of beaten gold set with all manner of precious stones. When he put on the robe of honour, and was clothed with the perfection of glory, when he went up to the holy altar, he enlightened the whole sanctuary. When he took the portions out of the priests' hands, he himself stood by the hearth of the altar, compassed with his brethren round about, as a young cedar in Lebanon; and they as palm-trees compassed they him round about. So were all the sons of Aaron in their glory, and had the oblations of the Lord in their hands, before all the congregation of Israel. And finishing the service at the altar, that he might adorn the offering of the Most High Almighty, he stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape; he poured it out at the foot of the altar, a sweet-smelling savour unto the Most High King of all. Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and sounded the silver trumpets, and made a great noise, to be heard for a remembrance before the Most High. Then all the people together hasted, and fell down to the earth upon their faces to worship their Lord God Almighty the Most High. The singers also sang praises with their voices; with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody. And the people besought the Lord the Most High, by

prayer before him that is merciful, till the solemnity of the Lord was ended and they had finished his service. Then he went down, and lifted up his hands over the whole congregation of the children of Israel, to give the blessing of the Lord with his lips and to rejoice in his name. And they bowed themselves down to worship the second time, that they might receive a blessing from the Most High."[1]

What the son of Sirach had felt under the Syrians was now the experience of the whole people, and witnesses enough can be found to testify to the impression that the temple service made at each period upon the mass of the population, and to the reverence with which they bowed down before their priests.[2] When at the feast of Tabernacles, in the year 35 B.C., there was again a Maccabee officiating as high-priest—the youthful Aristobulus —and having most punctiliously performed all the ceremonies, and the beauty of his person being heightened by his splendid adornments, he stepped forth from the temple, the people displayed so much turbulence in their rejoicings, and greeted him with such unbounded cheers, that Herod felt compelled to put the high-priest, although he had himself elected him and he was brother to his wife, out of the way, in order that a further-going tumult should not arise at some future feast.[3] Here was the reason, too, why the Romans retained the robes of the high-priest in the castle of Antonia, as though they were a talisman which conferred magic powers upon their wearer, and exerted a dangerous influence upon the feelings. These robes were only brought forth from time to time for use at the feasts, and then were immediately taken into safe keeping again. But the very splendour of this highest office in the temple, which the king or the procurator had it in his power to bestow, was, on the other hand, a most potent instrument for corrupting the temple aristocracy, and keeping the first families of the theocracy, through their hopes of higher preferment, in due subjection.

[1] Ecclesiasticus l., comp. xlv. 7, &c.

[2] Compare Bell. ii. 15, 24, 17, 4.

[3] Antiq. xv. 3, 3.

The national hope, consequently, nowhere found less ardent support than among the highest priestly classes, who, more than any others, ought to have been its representatives. This, however, had been the state of affairs ever since Herod had nominated to the high-priesthood[1] Simon, son of Boëthus, whose daughter he wanted for his wife, and out of whose relatives he created a new aristocracy, which, from its relationship to the royal house, possessed itself, in common with the ancient priestly classes, of the highest posts. An especially hated and unworthy branch of this latter party were the sons of Simon Cantheras, who in the last years of the state contested the high-priesthood with the family of Annas.[2] Besides this house of Annas, whose five sons enjoyed the highest office of the theocracy in succession,[3] and that neither in Josephus, nor in the Gospels, nor in the Talmud bear a good reputation, the sons of Phabi and Kamhith play a prominent part in the annals of the high-priesthood;[4] consequently there were four families especially between whose sons the sacred frontlet circulated. Whether they were Herodians or not, yet they were all high-priests, through the favour either of the procurators or of the Herods. Herod elevated and deposed five high-priests, Archelaus three, Valerius Gratus again five, and so it proceeded, certainly not to the advantage of the high office. The unanimity also was not of the best, since the deposed priests retained certain qualifications, and in certain cases had to officiate in place of the actual high-priest. Seldom has an aristocracy endured permanently a foreign sovereign without injury to its patriotism and its true nobility of character. Thus did it come about here, that the people often hated the very persons whom, as representatives of the sanctuary and the nation, they would most gladly have revered; and although even at the time of Herod the deposition of a high-priest was felt as an insult to the temple,[5] in that according to the law

[1] Antiq. xv. 9, 3. [2] Antiq. xix. 6, 2, 4, 8, 1. [3] Antiq. xx. 9, 1.

[4] Antiq. xx. 8, 8, xv. 9, 3, xviii. 2, 2, xx. 1, 3, 5, 2; compare Schürer, the ἀρχιερεῖς in New Test. Stud. und Crit. 1872, 4, p. 642.

[5] Antiq. xv. 3, 1.

the office was for life, yet not seldom were the people now in the position of themselves begging their foreign lords to depose some unpopular bearer of this highest office.[1] With bitter reproaches does the Talmud mention the names of the high-priests of this latter period, and by its means is a lamentation over the high-priestly families preserved, an echo of which is found even in Josephus.[2] "Woe is me," cries a Jerusalemite of the last days—"Woe is me on account of the house of Boëthus, woe is me on account of its spear! Woe is me on account of the house of Cantheras, woe is me on account of its pen! Woe is me on account of the house of Annas, woe is me on account of its venomous hiss! Woe is me on account of the house of Ismael ben Phabi, woe is me on account of its fist! They are high-priests, their sons are keepers of the treasury, their sons-in-law are guardians of the temple, and their servants beat the people with staves!"[3]

On the other hand, the relations with the inferior classes of the priests were of a better character, as they stood in intimate connection with the people. The sons of Aaron still received, as in the time of the ancient temple, the gifts of the poor man, and shared the sacrifice with him. They participated in the family festivals, purified at the altar the young mother, and by their barbaric agencies assisted jealous husbands in dragging into light the guilt of their faithless wives. Nevertheless, the heart of Israel was no longer in the temple, but in the synagogue. The true spirit of Judaism withdrew more and more from the priesthood into the schools of the Rabbis, as the highest of which the Sanhedrin itself can be counted, while at the same time it represented as a public court all that was left the people of executive power and self-government.

[1] Antiq. xviii. 2, 1, xx. 9, 1. [2] Especially in Antiq. xx. 10.
[3] Thosseftha Menachoth in Pessachim, 57 a.

2. The Sanhedrin.

The high court at Jerusalem—which had been instituted,[1] as it appears, in imitation of the earlier assembly of elders under the Maccabees—remained in force, with functions somewhat contracted under Herod, and somewhat more enlarged under the procurators. It consisted of seventy-one members, at whose head stood the chief of the Sanhedrin (the Nassi נָשִׂיא) and a president (Ab-bet-din אַב בֵּית דִּין). This assembly was composed of the chief-priests, the elders of the people, and the most renowned of the Rabbis.[2] Their sittings were held in the so-called temple-synagogue, which until the year 30 B. C. was situated on the confines of the inner courts, with one door leading into the court of the priests, and another into that of the Israelites, when the scribes discovered that the judicial office, as a secular one, belonged to the outer court; whereupon it is reported that a new basilica was built there, in the immediate neighbourhood of the eastern gate.[3] The sittings were held daily, after the morning sacrifice, the festivals of course being excepted. If twenty-three members were present, the assembly was qualified to act, and the business began. The members sat in a half-circle, the Nassi in the centre. Opposite were three rows of benches for the scholars of the Sanhedrists, who were intended in this manner to make themselves acquainted with the law. At times the high-priest acted as president.[4] As to the authority of the Sanhedrin we have no definite information. Certain is it that it was the legitimate court for deciding questions of public worship, for the authentic interpretation of controverted passages of Scripture, for appointing the festivals, the new moons, and similar theocratic matters. Difficult points of law

[1] Compare Grätz, Geschichte der Juden, iii. 88 ff.

[2] Mark viii. 31, &c.; Matthew xxvi. 3, 57, 59, xxvii. 41; Acts v. 21, vi. 12, xxii. 30, &c.

[3] Herzfeld, Geschichte Israel, ii. 394.

[4] Antiq. xx. 9, 1; Acts iv. 23, &c.

in questions of marriage and inheritance, the determination of the formularies of contracts, deeds of gift, betrothals and divorce, which were valid according to the law, formed the object of their transactions.[1] The Sanhedrin, consequently, was a theological court, to whose jurisdiction belonged all offences against the theocratic principles of the state. For the ordinary civil affairs there were the Sanhedrin, composed of seven members, of the separate towns. But from the way in which the entire life of the citizen had been cast in the mould of the theocracy, had it become possible for this court to adjudge nearly everything, when it so chose, to be within its jurisdiction. Josephus incidentally makes the Sanhedrin lay down the principle, that without its assent no criminal may be executed, and call the young Herod to account for a violation of this principle.[2] Jesus is summoned on a charge of assuming the title of Messiah; Peter and John stand before the high council on a charge of promoting heresy;[3] Stephen on a charge of blasphemy;[4] Paul on a charge of violating a temple by-law.[5] In these religious matters the court exercised an authority which was recognized even abroad, as Paul's journey to Damascus proves. The court must have had a pretty frequent intercourse with the country synagogues, on account of settling the festivals. The astronomical reckoning of the festivals especially, could not be everywhere determined, but were published at Jerusalem, where the Sanhedrin had to take in charge the calculating of the phases of the moon, and the settling when the new moon began. Incidentally also do we learn that foreign Jews sent their genealogical registers to the Sanhedrin for investigation and confirmation.[6]

If we may believe the supplementary descriptions of the Rabbis, then the practice of the court in judicial cases was very humane. The voting began with the youngest member, in order

[1] References in Jost, Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten, i. p. 127; Grätz, Geschichte der Juden, iii. p. 91.

[2] Antiq. xiv. 9, 3. [3] Acts iv. 1, v. 27. [4] Acts vi. 13.

[5] Acts xxi. 28. [6] Contr. Apion, i. 7.

that the opinion of the Nassi might not prejudice even the least firm of the members. Even the audience might take part in their debates, if any one had something to say in favour of the accused. Mercy especially, should raise her voice louder than strict law; for while for an acquittal a bare majority was sufficient, for condemnation a vote more than the majority was demanded. "Let every one judge according to the balance of equity," "Condemn not thy neighbour until thou stand in his place," are maxims which influential Pharisees had as members of the Sanhedrin impressed upon it. The usual punishments were fines of money and corporal punishments, such as were generally inflicted in Israel. "Whosoever will not do the law of thy God and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods or to imprisonment."[1] The capital punishments were stoning,[2] burning,[3] beheading[4] and strangulation.[5] The Sanhedrin, however, had no power, either under Herod or under the Roman procurators, of carrying its punishment of death into execution, but could only pass sentence in such cases; and the Roman authorities were seldom inclined to confirm the sentence of death for violations of Jewish customs that were so hateful to them.[6] The Jews, on the other hand, maintained that, as their law had been guaranteed, the infliction of the penalty of death in the cases prescribed by the law was acknowledged by the emperor, so that it was the duty of the procurator simply to carry out their sentence of death when thus contained in the law, and on his failing to do so they were bound to appeal to the emperor, as this was a breach of their privileges. Many of the procurators, consequently, had executed the law in all its strictness, although no crime had been committed according to the Roman code.[7]

[1] Ezra vii. 26. [2] Acts vii. 59. [3] 1 Maccabees iii. 5; Bell. i. 33, 4.
[4] Mark vi. 27. [5] Bell. i. 27, 6.
[6] Mark xv. 10; Acts xxiv. 22; Antiq. xx. 9, 1.
[7] Bell. ii. 12, 2, for the case of Cumanus, and Mark xv. 15 for the case of Pilate.

Besides this highest court of justice, there existed in every town in Palestine a local Sanhedrin composed of seven judges, whom the people treated with the reverence which orientals display to their rulers.[1] At the time of the restoration under Ezra, these Sanhedrin were formed of Levites, but gradually a separate rank of scribes had grown up, whose knowledge of the law surpassed that of the priestly rank, and in time only two Levitical members were required.[2] To these local Sanhedrin all civil and criminal matters were carried. Such cases were only referred to the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, when the judges were unable to give an unanimous opinion as to the interpretation of the law, and when it was necessary to decide before all what in this case was the meaning of the law.[3] Sittings were held on the market-days, that is on the second and fifth day of the week (Monday and Thursday), in order that the country people might have an opportunity of appealing to the law when they came to market. The transactions took place in the synagogue,[4] and those convicted by the testimony of two witnesses[5] were, according to oriental custom, immediately punished under the eyes of the judges, in those cases in which corporal punishment had been awarded.[6] "Beware of men," says Jesus, "for they will deliver you up to Sanhedrin, and they will scourge you in their synagogues."[7] More than forty stripes were not, according to Deuteronomy xxv. 3, to be given to any criminal. But since the Rabbis supposed that it might be possible for the executioner to make a mistake in the counting, and thus the law be unwittingly exceeded, only thirty-nine stripes might be inflicted. "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one," says Paul.[8] That the executioner should strike so heavily that even the twentieth blow should be mortal, was forbidden by no clause, and thus, in spite of this provision, the punishment at times

[1] Antiq. iv. 8, 14; Ecclesiasticus x. 5. [2] Antiq. iv. 8, 14. [3] Ibid.
[4] Vita, Jos. 54; Mark xiii. 9; Luke xii. 11, xxi. 12; Acts xxvi. 11.
[5] Vita, Jos. 49. [6] Matt. x. 17, xxiii. 34.
[7] Matt. x. 17. [8] 2 Cor. xi. 24; Sanhedr. 1, 2.

caused the death of the delinquent. In civil cases imprisonment was permitted, in order that the creditor might obtain his due. "Agree with thy creditor on the way to the judgment, in order that thou mayest be set free," does it say in the parable, "lest the creditor deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison. Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing." In such cases a single judge, presumably with two assistants,[1] seems to have formed the bench; for in other passages also in the New Testament, "the judge" is mentioned, as in the case of the rest-loving cadi who gives the widow her right, "lest at the last she come and smite him."[2]

In general, these Jewish courts of justice, especially the High Council, were more powerful under direct Roman jurisdiction than under the Herods; for the Romans contented themselves with the political power, and on principle left the special customs and arrangements to the self-government of the people.

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3. The Synagogue.

When the synagogue, in spite of its more favourable position under the Roman dominion, was nevertheless its sworn enemy, this was in accordance with its general policy as the nursery of the Mosaic life. The school had in course of time become the asylum where the theocratic ideal, which had no political existence, had been preserved. This position of the synagogue extended back into the times when the temple officials had been apostate priests, the chief authorities half-Gentile tyrants, and the public life overshadowed by the influence of Egyptian or Syrian dominion; nay, even further back than this did it extend to the Persian times. Abroad the synagogue formed the

[1] Sanh. 1, 1—3; Exodus xxi. 22. [2] Luke xviii. 5.

centre, which united the Diaspora around the Law of the Fathers. "Our houses of prayer in the several towns are none other than institutions for teaching prudence and bravery, temperance and justice, piety and holiness; in short, every virtue which the human and the divine recognizes and enjoins," declares the great scribe of Alexandria.[1] For Israel in the dispersion, as well as for the inhabitants of the provincial towns in Palestine, the divine service in the synagogue was intended to serve instead of participation in the worship in the temple at Jerusalem, and was on that account held at the hour of sacrifice at the temple. The sacrifice brought to God in the synagogue was prayer, and as in the temple on the feast days the number of sacrifices was increased, so also was the number of prayers in the synagogue on festive occasions.[2] As it was the duty of every Israelite to take a part at the hour of sacrifice in this symbolical manner in the temple life,[3] so, in time, synagogues had arisen everywhere, in order that the faithful might together fulfil this duty.

At the time of Jesus, every small town in Palestine, as Nazareth or Capernaum, had at least one synagogue and several places of prayer (proseucha), which were enclosed with walls, and in order to facilitate the purifications required by law, were, when possible, by the side of running water, or even on the lake-side or sea-shore;[4] whilst the synagogues were placed upon some eminence, from which they overlooked the houses of the town, or at the corners of the streets and gateways, in remembrance of the words of the Proverbs: "At the corner of busy streets does Wisdom call, at the entrance of the gates of the city she uttereth her words."[5] The synagogue buildings of this period were for

[1] Philo, Mos. ed. Mang. p. 168, Frankfurt edition, 685.

[2] Compare Jost, Geschichte der Juden und seiner Sekten, i. 168.

[3] Compare Daniel vi. 10.

[4] Acts xvi. 13; Antiq. xiv. 10, 23; Philo in Flacc. Mang. p. 535, Frankfurt edition, 982; Juvenal, Satires, xiv. 104.

[5] Proverbs i. 21; Luke iv. 28, 29.

the most part simple rectangular halls with a portico, and decorated with the tasteless spiral ornamentation of Jewish art.[1]

Especially on the Sabbath and feast-days, but also on Mondays and Thursdays, the two market-days, when the country people brought their fruit to the market and their disputes to the judges, did the people assemble here for prayer and for hearing the proper lessons from the Scriptures.[2] The women sat in seats set apart for them.[3] The foremost benches were occupied by the heads of the synagogue and the most reputed scribes, in order that when the chief of the synagogue summoned them to read the Thorah (Pentateuch), they could at once mount the reader's platform.[4] Pious ambition often elbowed its way to these benches, or the richer garments of the respectable won them from the indigent.[5] Each of these synagogues had a special president, the chief of the synagogue (archisynagogos), who conducted all the affairs of the synagogue and preserved order at the meetings.[6] To assist him was a body of presbyters, who made themselves of service partly in the regular devotions of the congregation, and partly in the financial affairs of the synagogue.[7]

The other officials were the reciter of the prayers, who at the same time acted as secretary and messenger (apostle) of the synagogue in its external affairs,[8] the attendant (synagogue minister),[9] and the collectors of alms (deacons). It seems that at times certain sections of the people united in building a synagogue, whose support then rested upon them. Thus we learn that in Jerusalem there were not less than 480 synagogues,[10]

[1] Renan, Vie de Jesus, c. viii.

[2] Hier. Meg. f. 75, 1; Grätz, Geschichte der Juden, 4, 97.

[3] Philo, De Vita Contempl. ii. 476, Frankfurt edition, 894.

[4] The pulpit occurs as early as Nehemiah viii. 4 and ix. 4; the πρωτοκαθεδρίαι, Matt. xxiii. 6.

[5] Compare Matt. vi. 2, 5, xxiii. 6. [6] Matt. ix. 18; Luke xiii. 14; Acts xviii. 17.

[7] Acts xiii. 15; Mark v. 22; 1 Tim. v. 17; Jarchi ad Sot. 7, 7.

[8] Rev. ii. 1; Acts xiii. 2, 15; 2 Cor. viii. 23.

[9] Luke iv. 20. [10] Megill. f. 73, 4.

synagogues of the Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians, and of the inhabitants of other districts. It seems that at the feasts they proved of assistance to the guests coming from their own native country, and, moreover, attached the scholars of the Rabbis, at their first arrival, to themselves.[1] That rich private individuals, too, built synagogues for poor communities, we learn from the incident of the centurion of Capernaum.[2]

The religious service of the synagogue was an unusually protracted one. It began with prayers, which were offered standing; their number being increased on feast-days, as on these occasions a richer sacrifice of prayer was deemed becoming. Hence arose the "vain repetitions" which Jesus condemned in his contemporaries.[3] Rabbi Chanina, on the other hand, however, declared that "he who makes long his prayers cometh not empty away."[4] After the reader had recited the prayers enjoined by the law, the congregation joining in, the sacred rolls were taken by the minister of the synagogue out of the ark, and then those appointed read a section from the Thorah (Pentateuch), which was divided for this purpose into 154 Parashoth. These ought to be quite read through in the course of three years; they still always occupy the first place in the service, since the main object of the whole was to instruct the people in the law.[5] Verse for verse, alternating with the translator appointed, did the person selected read the text and the translator declared the Targum, as the Aramaic paraphrase is termed.[6] Thus had it been introduced by Ezra himself, with the exception that then the Levite who was reading added the translation. "They read in the book of the law of God clearly, and gave the sense, and explained the meaning whilst reading. And the people were glad, because they had understood the words that were declared unto them."[7] In several synagogues the paraphrase appears

[1] Acts vi. 9. [2] Luke vii. 5. [3] Matt. vi. 7.
[4] Berach. Bab. p. 32 b. [5] Apion, 2, 17; 2 Cor. iii. 15; Acts xv. 21.
[6] Meg. 4, 10; Sot. f. 39, 2; Zunz, die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, p. 3, 62.
[7] Nehemiah viii. 8.

even at this time to have been in Greek,[1] as the people, generally, everywhere understood this language.[2] Responses with the congregation followed the reading and paraphrase of the Thorah, after which they turned to the prophets.[3] They, also, were separated into sections, called Haphtaroth, for the same purpose. When the prophets had been read and translated, the person who had been called upon, after returning the roll to the minister, gave a practical application in the Midrash.[4] "In his discourse," says Jesus, "does the true scribe, like an householder, bring forth from his treasures things new and old;" just as he himself in the synagogue at Nazareth had referred to the well-known stories of Naaman the Syrian and the widow of Sarepta.[5] In like manner does the book of Ecclesiasticus, xxxix. 1, describe the utterance of the scribe. "He seeks out the wisdom of the ancients, and is occupied in their prophecies. The sayings of renowned men does he observe, and to the deep meaning of their proverbs does he penetrate. Obscure parables does he seek out, and with sayings is he conversant." The Son of Sirach has bequeathed us a series of such sayings in the style of the Midrash, in the section which begins with the words, "Yet have I more to say which I have thought upon: for I am filled as the moon at the full."[6] In the same manner in the writings of Philo, as, for example, in his devotional account of the history of Moses, or in the paraphrase of Genesis in the book of Jubilees, the application of the sacred history, as was usual in the Midrash, can be recognized. Of the manner in which the scribe of medium rank at this time penetrated to the deep meaning of the proverbs and sought out obscure parables, it will be necessary to speak hereafter.

[1] Acts vi. 9.

[2] Acts xxii. 2; Bell. Jud. ii. 13, 7; compare, for the contest of Rabbis against the practice, Gfrörer, Jahrhundert des Heils, 115.

[3] Acts xiii. 15.

[4] Luke iv. 17; Philo, Mangold, ii. 458, 630. Compare the article Synagoge, by Leyer, in Herzog's Encyklopädie.

[5] Matthew xiii. 52; Luke iv. 20.

[6] Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 12.

Those were, according to our judgment, long services, which continued until the evening, and kept young and old together speechless while the law was read, and then again during an excited debate, which was often broken by stormy calls to order; while outside before the synagogue, with all the publicity and talkativeness of oriental life, there was a farther discussion of the question which within was treated in a more solemn and scholastic manner.[1]

Thus the synagogue was a true school for the nation, and Josephus boasts with justice, that by its means the law was made the common possession of all; and that while among the Romans even procurators and proconsuls had to take those skilled in law with them into their provinces, in the Jewish household every servant-maid knew from the religious service what Moses had ordained in the law in every single instance.[2]

Had the character of the synagogue, consequently, cherished a certain average skill in the law among the common people, yet from itself had it also developed a class of zealous scholars who made the study of the law their profession. For some long time past had there existed, in addition to the Levites, who originally, according to Ezra's plan, were to have been instructors of the people, a class of lawyers who excelled the Levites in the reading of the Hebrew text, in the Targum and Midrash, and from them did the synagogues usually select their preachers, and the Sanhedrin their members. They were still always called "Sopherim," סֹפְרִים, the scribes or writers, because they had been the first who possessed the power of writing exact and proper copies of the law for newly-erected synagogues; but at our time under this name were comprehended all the men whose hearts were prepared, as had formerly been Ezra's, to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments.[3] These men had formed

[1] Luke iv. 16, 20; Acts xiii. 15; Philo, ἐξηγεῖται μέχρι σχεδὸν δείλης ὀψίας. Philo, d. sept. et fest., Frankfurt edition, 1178; compare 877. Mangold, ii. 458, 630; compare Keim, Der geschichtliche Christus, p. 72; Jesus of Nazara, Theological Translation Fund Library, i. 433.

[2] Josephus, c. Apion, ii. 17, 18, 19.

[3] Ezra vii. 10.

themselves into a special class, since the study of the law demanded the entire man, and could not be pursued merely as an accessory occupation. "The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure," says the Son of Sirach,[1] "and he that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks? He giveth his mind to make furrows, and is diligent to give the kine fodder. So every carpenter and workmaster, that laboureth night and day, and they that cut and grave seals, the smith also sitting by the anvil, so doth the potter turning the wheel about with his feet; all these trust to their hands, and every one is wise in his work. Without them can no city be built, nor any dwell therein, nor go up and down. But in the council shall they not excel, nor sit upon the judge's seat, nor search in the book of the law: they cannot declare justice and judgment; and where parables are spoken they shall not be found."

These circumstances, arising from the nature of the thing itself, had caused the scribes to become organized into a special class, which charged itself with the care of the study of the law, as to the Levites was relegated the charge of the sanctuary. Celebrated masters of the law collected disciples around themselves, among whom were found men of every age, married[2] and unmarried. The master imparted his instruction in the synagogue or in his own house. In Jerusalem, where the most numerous schools were found,[3] several of the chambers in the fore-courts of the temple were set aside for this purpose.[4] The teacher sat upon a raised seat, while the scholars were at his feet.[5] The method of instruction was at once disputatory and catechetical, while the auditors and scholars in turn propounded questions to the teacher.[6] Had a scholar, after several years' instruction, advanced so far that the teacher considered him

[1] Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 24—34.
[2] So Hillel, according to b. Sota, 21 a.
[3] Antiq. xvii. 6, 2; Bell. i. 33, 2.
[4] Sanh. 2, 2; Luke ii. 46.
[5] Acts xxii. 3.
[6] Luke ii. 46.

competent to take a part, he consecrated him as a Chaber, a companion. As such, he sat to the right of his master, and had a share in the instruction. Did he desire to found a school of his own, or to settle in the country on his own account, he had to be first consecrated as Rabbi by the Semichah. This consecration took place with all solemnity in the synagogue. The candidate for ordination was seated upon the bench of the teachers; the key, the symbol of the exposition of the Scripture, was handed to him;[1] and by the solemn imposition of hands was the dignity of Rabbi conferred upon him. Then he was competent to discharge all the duties for which a Rabbi was needed. Although the education of the professional classes was at this time entirely scholastic, yet the Rabbi could raise himself by his own force of character from the ranks of the people; for there was but *one* kind of learning, that of the law, whose elements were the common property of all. The result was, that many an Israelite could only turn to this profession in the riper years of life, and thus not seldom were married men the scholars of the Rabbis.[2] There was nothing unusual, therefore, in Jesus calling Matthew from the receipt of custom, or Simon and Andrew from their nets, to become disciples; just as he himself had at a pretty advanced age laid aside his carpenter's axe in order to preach for the first time in the synagogue the tidings of the kingdom of God. To at least have learned some handicraft was an absolute necessity for the Rabbi, in order that whenever he had no other means of support, he might be able to provide for himself by his own labour. For the teaching of the law for money was repugnant to the idea which was entertained of the dignity of the law. "Freely ye received, freely give," declares Jesus; and still more beautifully do the teachers express the same thought in the words of Rabbi Zadok: "Do

[1] Matt. xxiii. 2, 13; Luke xi. 52. Compare the commentators on the passage and Jost; also Schöttgen, Horæ Hebraicæ, ii. 894; Gfrörer, Geschichte des Urchristenthum, i. 155.

[2] Herzfeld, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, p. 266.

not make of the law a crown to glory in it, nor an axe to live by it."[1] Thus every Rabbi had to provide for himself by the work of his own hands. Rabbi Hillel was a day-labourer, a Rabbi Joshua was a needle-maker, Rabbi Isaac a smith, Rabbi Judah a baker, Rabbi Simeon a carpet-maker, Rabbi Jochanan a shoemaker, and Paul a weaver of goats' hair, and so forth.[2] This inflicted no injury upon their authority; on the contrary, the people readily transferred the reverence which they felt for their national law to the teachers of the law, in a most evident manner. They greeted these teachers in the streets, called them reverently, Rabbi,[3] or even, when one met a teacher who was recognized by all as a master, Rabban.[4] They were allotted the first seat in the synagogues;[5] and as it was a part of good manners to talk about the Thorah at table,[6] the Rabbi was absent at no festive table, where the upper place at the table was reserved for him.[7] A certain solemnity marked the appearance of the scribe of this period, in whom the marks of the orthodox Jews, the shew-threads and the Tephillin, were not wanting. Even the Son of Sirach had made the remark, that God has distributed the gifts of fortune variously, but upon the scribe had he laid dignity.[8] Jesus, who forbids his own disciples to be called Masters in the Rabbinical manner, has also ridiculed the pompous bearing of the Sopherim, and his utterances present us with an insurpassable description of the solemnity with which this class paraded itself in public. In general, however, the people were exceedingly proud of their teachers, and declared that they were the crown of Israel, which gave the chosen people a pre-eminence above all nations. "Learn," says the

[1] Pirqe Aboth, iv. 9; compare i. 2.

[2] Compare the passages in Gfrörer, Geschichte des Urchristenthums, i. 161.

[3] Matthew xxiii. 7, 8. [4] Mark x. 51; John xx. 16.

[5] Matthew xxiii. 6; Luke xx. 46.

[6] Pirqe Aboth, iii. 3—6; compare also i. 4. Rabbi Jose ben Joezer: Let thine house be a meeting-house for the wise; and powder thyself in the dust of their feet, and drink their words with thirstiness.

[7] Matt. xxiii. 6. [8] Ecclesiasticus x. 5.

Book of Baruch, "where is wisdom, where is strength, where is understanding. It hath not been heard of in Canaan, neither hath it been seen in Theman. The children of Hagar seek wisdom upon earth, so also the merchants of Meran and of Theman, and the authors of fables and searchers-out of understanding; none of these have known the way of wisdom, or remember her paths. God hath found out all the way of knowledge and hath given it unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved."[1] The proper seat of the learning of the Sopherim was naturally Jerusalem, where the Sanhedrin gave them an opportunity of bringing their theories to a practical result. Yet they were not entirely wanting in the provinces,[2] although they there generally appeared as priests from Jerusalem, who visited the country schools in order to encourage them by their teaching and exhortation.[3] So occupied does the Targum on Judges v. 9 describe them, when it makes Deborah in her song say, "I have been sent to praise the scribe of Israel, who so long as persecution endured did not cease to expound the law. Lovely was it, as they then sat in the synagogues and taught the people the words of the law, when they pronounced the blessing, and professed the truth before God. Their own business did they make no less account, and rode upon asses through the whole land, and sat upon the seat of judgment." Little as the paraphrase agrees with the time of the Judges, yet most accurately does it describe the activity of the Rabbis at our time.

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4. Tendencies of Rabbinism.

In spite of all excrescences of practice, it was a grand thought, undeniably, upon which the Rabbis dwelt and for which they worked. The preservation of the Mosaic religion in all its

[1] Baruch iii. 14, 22, 23, 36.
[2] Antiq. xx. 2, 4; Matt. iii. 5—7, ix. 3, 14, 34, xii. 1, &c., 14, &c.
[3] Mark iii. 22.

integrity was the aim of their labours, to which they applied themselves with admirable vigour under most difficult circumstances. A powerful preaching of the law was consequently the first of the duties of the Rabbi. How this task was discharged towards the people we learn from the book of Jubilees, which calls to aid every art of rhetoric in order to found in the reader's heart an obedience to the law. For the whole of life, from the cradle to the bier, does the author urge with like pathos the precepts of the Thorah.

"On the eighth day shalt thou circumcise thy boy, for on this day was Abraham circumcised, and the people of his house. Neither may the days be changed, nor one of the eight days passed over, for it is an eternal precept, ordained and inscribed in the decrees of Heaven. And he who observes it not, belongs not to the children of the covenant, but to the children of perdition. The sons of Belial will not do it."

The mother of the child shall be unclean seven days in the one case, or twice seven in the other: "for in the first seven days was Adam created, and in the second Eve. Therefore was the command given to observe seven days for a male child, and twice seven for a maid."[1] The Israelite shall not marry his son to a Samaritan woman, nor his daughter to a Gentile. "Should he do so, then let him die the death, and let him be stoned with stones."[2] Each one is to give his tithe—"for it is established as a law in heaven, that the second tithe be given in order that it may be eaten before the Lord on the place which is chosen. And for this law there is no end of days."[3]

"When thou killest thy beast, kill for a peace-offering one that is well-pleasing: kill it, and the blood thereof pour upon the altar, with flour and fruit-offerings, mingled with oil, and besides a drink-offering."[4] "And there shall nothing remain over until the third day, for it is not acceptable and well-pleasing, and it shall not be eaten any more. All who do so bring

[1] Jubilees (Göttinger Jahrbücher, 1850), cap. 3 (paragraph 237). [2] Cap. 30 (p. 37).
[3] Jubilees, cap. 32 (p. 42). [4] Cap. 31 (p. 18).

sin upon themselves. . . . . Upon thy fruit-offerings shalt thou lay salt, and the bond of salt shall not be despised. . . . . And in regard to the wood for the sacrifice, thou shalt take heed to thyself that thou bringest no wood for sacrifice which is not from choice trees, likewise no torn wood, nor hard, nor old, whose fragrance is gone." "And every time let thy body be clean, and wash thyself with water, before thou goest to sacrifice upon the altar; wash hands and feet before thou approachest to the altar. And when thou hast finished bringing the sacrifice, wash thy hands and feet again, in order that there may appear no spot of blood on thee or on thy clothes. Take heed, my son, take heed especially of blood; bury it in the earth, and eat no blood, for it is the life. Eat no blood on any reason whatever." The most important of all, however, is the observance of the Sabbath: "Every one who desecrates this day, or declares that he intends to make a journey on it, or speaks either of buying or selling, and he who draws water, and has not provided it upon the sixth day, and he who lifts a burden in order to take it out of his dwelling-place or out of his house, shall die. Ye shall do no manner of work on the Sabbath-day which ye have not prepared on the sixth day, in order that ye may eat and drink and rest, and keep Sabbath from every kind of work on this day . . . . except to burn incense and to offer gifts and sacrifices before the Lord on the Sabbath-day. This work alone shalt thou do on the Sabbath-day. But every man who transacts business, makes a journey, or attends to his cattle, either at his own house or elsewhere, and he who kindles a fire, or rides upon any beast, or sails upon a ship upon the sea, and he who either slays or kills anything, or who slaughters beast or bird, or who catches any beast or bird or fish, and he who feasts, and he who wages war upon the Sabbath-day, every one who doeth any of these things shall die." [1]

If these extracts give any notion of the oratory of the scribes in the schools, then the direction of their labours, as expounders

[1] Jubil. 50; Göttinger Jahrbücher, 1850, p. 70.

of the law and as judges, will be most accurately expressed in the oft-repeated maxim of Simeon the Just (at the time of Alexander the Great): "Be deliberate in judgment, and raise up many disciples; and make a fence to the Thorah."[1] Even the Pirqe Aboth puts this maxim at the beginning of the collection as the guiding one.

In the correct belief that arbitrariness is the mother of error, the school attempted to exclude all action according to private judgment, "in order that the people should not go farther." This was the fence which was set around the law. Every action must be either legal or illegal, and only one course could be permissible. "*All* actions, studies and words," says Josephus, "have with us a reference to piety towards God; for the giver of the law has left *nothing* in suspense, or undetermined .... beginning immediately from the earliest infancy and the details of the domestic life of every one, he left *nothing*, even of the very smallest consequence, to the disposal and arbitration of those for whom he gave laws. Accordingly, he made a fixed rule of law, what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should use; which were the persons with whom they should maintain intercourse, what diligence they should use in their occupations, and what times of rest should be interposed, in order that we living under it, as under a father and guardian, might neither voluntarily nor out of ignorance be guilty of any sin."[2]

From these words it is evident with what results Rabbinism had already laboured, when Josephus finds in the Mosaic law a complexus of precepts embracing the whole of life, a net, as it were, which drew its meshes without a break around the entire existence. In fact, this completeness had been first obtained by supplementary laws and the frequently artificial interpretation of the Scripture. For the fence at which the Rabbis worked so energetically, consisted essentially of more precise explanations and traditional completions of the law, which were intended to

[1] Pirqe Aboth, i.

[2] Apion, ii. 17.

prevent any domain of life being considered as independent of it, and thus coming in course of time to be a source of danger to the law itself. The varied complexities of life were thus ever more particularly defined by the law, and where precepts were wanting, new commands were evolved from some analogy, either real or imaginary. This pedantic task, which arranged every separate occupation under the categories of the Allowed or the Forbidden, was termed in the language of the schools *binding* and *loosing*. Binding and loosing was no simple matter, owing to the varied complexity of life, and the prosecution of this work had necessarily given rise to a casuistry which bordered upon utter foolishness. Even Jesus ironically refers to the disputed question which had been raised, as to the proper course of action when a sheep fell into a water-tank on the Sabbath-day; some deciding that the animal ought to be left in the tank, but supplied with food until the evening, while others thought it should be drawn out. In like manner was the question raised, as to whether a farmer might render help to a cow which calved on the Sabbath-day, and whether he ought on the Sabbath to carry water to the beast, or lead the beast to water. Even such a question as the following seems worthy of decision to a Rabbi Hillel: What ought to be done in case that, when the Passover had begun, the sacrificial knife had not been properly placed for use?[1]

As the fence around the law consisted on this side of decisions of casuistical problems, whose occurrence in actual life might have occasioned a breach of the law, so it consisted in other cases of the heightening of the legal commands, since it was safer to do too much than too little, in order that here too "the people might not go too far." The malefactor, as we saw, might only receive thirty-nine stripes, in order that the executioner might not give him forty-one in mistake.[2] The pronunciation of the name of God was altogether forbidden, in order to be more certain in avoiding the misuse of the name forbidden in Exodus

[1] Compare Jost. Judenthum, i. 256. [2] Deuteronomy xxv. 3; 2 Cor. xi. 24.

xx. 7. Even where the name Jehovah occurs in the Scriptures, Adonai was always read in its place.[1] The legal tithe was, from a literal interpretation of Deuteronomy xiv. 22—29, trebled, so that the three cases there placed one after the other were made binding collectively. "The first tenth part of all increase I gave to the sons of Levi who ministered at Jerusalem; and the second tenth part I sold, and went and spent it every year at Jerusalem; and the third tenth part did I give unto them to whom it was meet."[2] Thus the more pious even tithed themselves in the little grains of mint, anise and cummin which came into their kitchens;[3] and yet more particular persons still deemed it desirable to tithe all the food which they bought when it was purchased, and then again when it had been dressed, to guard against even the suspicion of an exchange. "Tithe not overmuch from mere conjecture," is a wise saying recorded of Gamaliel.

Even the already strict laws with regard to food seemed to the scribes to need yet greater stringency. The violation of such commands about eating, which entailed in the law only uncleanness until the evening, were now visited by heavy penalties.[4] Not less the introduction of the forbidden beasts, or breeding them,[5] or trading in their hides was forbidden.[6] All the provisions belonging to Gentiles, even their oil and wine, was held to be unclean; so also all which had not been tithed.[7] A further stringency was given by insisting that those who had become unclean ought not to take food before the legal purification, since in that case the food itself was made unclean by him, and consequently the uncleanness was extended in an increasing circle. The commandment of the law, founded upon a natural sentiment that the kid ought not to be cooked in its mother's milk,[8] revealing a pleasing feature of the feeling of

[1] As the LXX. shows, which always translates יהוה by κύριος.
[2] Tobit i. 7; compare Jubilees, cap. 32 (p. 42).
[3] Matt. xxiii. 23.
[4] Antiq. xi. 8, 7.
[5] Antiq. xii. 3, 4.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Daniel i. 8, &c.; Judith xii. 1; Vita, Jos. 3, 13.
[8] Exodus xxiii. 19.

Israel at the patriarchal age, when nomadic and living in close contact with the flocks, was expanded by the scribes into a general prohibition against eating flesh and milk at the same time, inasmuch as it was possible for the two to stand in the prohibited relations to each other, and then the kid would be cooked in its mother's milk in the stomach of the eater.[1] Founded on the same possibility was the further precept, that separate vessels should be used for cooking milk and dishes of meat.[2] Since by these more or less arbitrary expansions of the laws regarding food, the customs of the several classes of society and school had of necessity become very various, a great source of anxiety was introduced in the intercourse of Jews even with one another. "Eat such things as are set before you," does Jesus say, therefore, to the disciples he was sending forth.[3] "Whatever is sold in the shambles, eat, asking no question,"[4] does Paul advise his converts at Corinth, who had been troubled by the Jewish Christians. But although Jesus had so unconditionally declared, that not that which goeth into the mouth defileth the man, but that which cometh out of the mouth,[5] yet it needed many intermediate steps before the Jewish-Christian communities could rise to this standpoint, since there was hardly another prejudice so deeply implanted in Judaism as this horror of unclean food.[6]

With the increased stringency of the laws regarding food, went hand in hand the multiplication of purifications. "When the scribes which came from Jerusalem saw some of the disciples of Jesus eat their bread with unclean, that is to say with unwashen hands, they asked of him the reason. For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands up to the wrist, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders. And when they come from the market, except they bathe, they eat not. And many other things there be, which they have received to hold, washing of

[1] Philo, De curit., Frankfurt edition, § 711. [2] Cholin, 8.
[3] Luke x. 8. [4] 1 Cor. x. 25. [5] Matt. xv. 11.
[6] Acts xv. 20, 29; Romans xiv. 1, 2; 1 Cor. vi. 12, viii. 1, x. 25.

cups, and of pots, and of brazen vessels, and of couches," does the Gospel according to Mark declare.[1] Not only were there different precepts for the purification of earthen pots and copper vessels, either in well-water or in river-water, as the case might be, but even the very pillows used at table were subjected to the same process, in order that the eaters might not be defiled.[2] "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees," declares Jesus in his indignation, "hypocrites! because ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess."[3]

For the personal purifications, the precepts had become even more manifold, and the schools contended as to the cases in which the hands ought to be immersed, held upwards or downwards, and washed as far as the wrists, or only the finger-tips.[4] The purifications after contact with a corpse or a grave became so minute, that the gravestones were yearly whitened in order that the passers-by might be warned.[5] But contact with living persons also could entail evil consequences, as we learn even from the case of the Jewish Christians, who plunged into water, clothes and all, when they had come in contact with a strange man.[6] The separateness of the Pharisees rested upon this fear of contamination from contact with common people: on this point, however, it will be necessary to speak hereafter.

But the most intense interest, by far, which occupied the schools, was that attaching to the Sabbath laws, the observation of which seemed to them to form the essential contents of religion.[7] It is no exceptional instance, that at the commencement of the Maccabean war the garrisons of the caves allowed themselves to be slaughtered without their weapons, rather than draw a sword upon the Sabbath.[8] From a similar reason did Jerusalem fall

[1] Mark vii. 1—4. [2] Mark vii. 4; Berachot viii. 3. [3] Matt. xxiii. 25.
[4] Passages in Sepp, Thaten und Lehren Jesu. Schaffhausen, 1864, p. 168.
[5] Matt. xxiii. 27. [6] Epiph. Hær. 30, 2.
[7] Compare Buch der Jubiläen, cap. 2; Göttinger Jahrbuch, 1849, p. 235.
[8] 1 Maccab. ii. 34.

into the hands of Pompeius;[1] and during the last war, Josephus, the commander-in-chief of Galilee, even allowed his troops to go home regularly upon the Sabbath, in order that the inhabitants might not be compelled to do unlawful work by having the soldiers billeted upon them.[2] Even the Christian community could still make it a subject of prayer, to "pray that their flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath-day."[3] For the distance that any one might walk upon the Sabbath was limited to two thousand paces, the distance of the ark of the covenant from the Israelites' camp in the desert,[4] which was a so-called Sabbath-day's journey.[5] And in Jerusalem there were special saints who did not move from the spot where the trumpet-signal had surprised them, from the moment that signal was given from the temple that the Sabbath had commenced.[6] The following kinds of work were forbidden upon the Sabbath:—sowing, ploughing, reaping, binding the sheaves, threshing, winnowing, cleaning fruit, grinding, sifting, kneading, baking, shearing, washing, hammering, painting, spinning, weaving, plaiting, tying, sawing, making and unmaking knots, sewing and ripping, hunting, killing, skinning, cutting wood, tanning, writing, obliterating in order to write, building or pulling down, kindling or extinguishing a fire, carrying about, and so forth.[7] Moreover, the sophistry of the Rabbis had been much exercised in finding out new unlawful kinds of work, after there had been a general agreement as to thirty-nine.[8] In order to confirm the sanctity of the Sabbath, most extraordinary speculations were indulged in. Philo often calls the day "the birthday of the world."[9] It was believed that it was observed in heaven and in hell, and that even the poor souls in Gehenna had rest.[10] Nature, too, was thought to be subject to the observance of the Sabbath, and

[1] Bell. Jud. i. 7, 3. [2] Vita, Jos. 32. [3] Matt. xxiv. 20.
[4] Targ. Ruth i. 16; Jarchi ad Jos. 3, 4; Antiq. xiii. 8, 4. [5] Acts i. 12.
[6] So Origines of Dositheus, De prim. iv. 17, p. 176.
[7] Jost. Judenthum und seine Sekten, i. 178. [8] Mischna. Sabb. 7, 2.
[9] Mos. i., Mang. 113, 114, iii. 167. [10] See Gfrörer, as before.

pious streams were known which only flowed on the seventh day,[1] and yet more pious ones which stopped on the Sabbath, and only on the following day began to continue their course.[2]

The spirit of the scribes has been indicated with sufficient clearness from the examples given, so that it is not necessary to give separate examples of the mass of definitions, distinctions and regulations. From the cleaning of the teeth and washing the hands, to the last prayer in which the dying commended the soul to God, had all been thought of by the schools. They prescribed prayers and alms, and regulated the breadth of phylacteries and the thickness of veils. But they also laid down the precepts regarding the sacrifices, the expenditure and income of the temple, the festivals, questions of inheritance, court decrees and legal procedure.

If, on the one hand, respect must be yielded to this holding fast by traditions, which appeared to be at the same time a holding fast of the real theocracy, yet, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that an injury was introduced by this ecclesiasticism which was especially devoted to the external presentation of the religious life. In proportion as attention was directed to the observation of the objective legalities, was the subjective emotion overlooked. Ever since the number of purifications, tithes, laws for fast and feast days, to which the faithful Israelite should feel himself bound, had become the only object of theological controversy, had the essential requirements of a religious and moral life, which ought to have been the chief distinction of the true Israel, been more and more forgotten.[3] With rebuke, therefore, does Jesus point to the purified vessels, the levitically pure wine of which had perhaps been paid for by extorted money, or else, though all the precepts of purification had been kept, was nevertheless made an instrument of excess.[4] It had been

[1] Bell. vii. 5, 1. [2] Plin. Hist. Nat. 31, 18.

[3] The Psalms of Solomon (De la Cerda, adversa sacra, p. 8). Ps. viii. 9—11 give indications of the bad condition of morality in Jerusalem. So iv. 3, 4.

[4] Matthew xxiii. 25.

sought to make holiness firm and secure by establishing it in precepts entirely objective; but whilst pains were taken to fix it in rigid forms, that which was really holy in it escaped, and only the garment, the appearance of holiness, remained. Hence arose the strong reaction against the law in deeper minds, of whom it became the conviction that justification could not proceed from such works, but from the inner world of faith and emotion. By Jesus, therefore, just as much as by Paul, was this whole result of Rabbinical scholasticism declared to be a heavy burden. As the Talmud curtly speaks of the plagues of the Pharisees,[1] so does Jesus discourse of the burdens, which the Rabbi, in his secluded sphere of action devoted solely to the schools, never touched personally with his finger, but that sensibly hindered the people in the market of life, and confused the individual mind, which did not, as the scribe, regard these precepts as mere objects of controversy, but as earnest questions of eternal salvation. The Rabbis themselves compared the mass of precepts regarding the Sabbath, for example, to a mountain suspended by a hair; for these precepts were deduced from the Scripture through an endless series of consequences, often only connected with them by the slightest of threads. But this mountain, which they regarded with the delight of the professional, pressed like an Alp upon the actual life of the people. For the activity of the Rabbinical schools was in nowise concerned with the presentation of a right theory of the law, but treated of the practical precepts of a life righteous in the sight of Jehovah. And herein consisted the power of the teachers in the Jewish state, that they alone decided what were the duties of a righteous life for every one. Upon every Jew rested the obligation of directing his life and household according to the properly understood commands of the Thorah. But this thorough Judaism was found so complicated, that the pious were compelled every moment to seek for the scribes' advice, and where the scribes saw any one not inclined to ask them, they considered

[1] Sota, f. 20.

themselves authorized, by means of exhortation, warning, legal prosecution or instigation of the people, to compel the adoption of their interpretations. The Gospels show us the scribes frequently in this position, which is explained by the fact, that not only the salvation of individuals, but also the fulfilment of the Messianic promises, were considered to be dependent upon faithfulness towards the law. Thus no individual, even if he had desired, was able to emancipate himself from their power. They had, according to the meaning which Jesus gives to the key bestowed upon them at the Semichah, the key of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding and loosing for this world and the next;[1] for they alone knew the conditions of the righteousness demanded by God, they alone understood how to treat everything according to the measure of the law. Thus the Rabbi was far more indispensable to the people than the priest. Was one born into the world, the Rabbi circumcised him; did one come to school, the Rabbi instructed him; did he take a wife, the Rabbi wrote the settlements; did he put away one with whom he could not agree or who was faithless, the Rabbi proved the bill of divorcement. He was the recorder of all purchases and sales, of loans, of agreements and public transactions. Thus the individual teacher was regarded exactly as a judge, and of Jesus was the demand made to take upon himself the duty of adjusting the division of an inheritance between the heirs,[2] or as a criminal judge to pronounce sentence on the woman taken in adultery.[3] The Talmud is cognizant of many cases of this kind, in which individual Rabbis without further ceremony take upon themselves the functions of regular judges,[4] and it was only the logical application of the theocratic doctrine, that he who had a proper understanding of the Scripture, as being an interpreter of the Divine will, was the proper judge. The personal claims of the Rabbis consequently were only proportionate to their importance. That was not the briefest part of their expositions in

[1] Matt. xvi. 19; Bell. Jud. i. 5, 2.
[2] Luke xii. 13.
[3] John viii. 3.
[4] Jost. Judenthum, ii. 243.

which the Rabbis treated of themselves and the reverence which the world owed them. To speak with the teacher, to invite him to be the guest, to marry his daughter, Israel was taught to consider the highest honour. The young men were expected to count it their glory to carry the Rabbi's burdens, to bring his water, to load his ass. If one's own father and the Rabbi were both destitute, the son ought to provide for the Rabbi first; were they both naked, then he ought to clothe the Rabbi with his own cloak; were they taken prisoners, then ought he to ransom the Rabbi first. These were the claims which the scribes who had been converted afterwards brought with them into the Christian communities, and Paul often saw with wrath how the laity suffered when these men sought to bring them into bondage, to devour them, to catch them as in a snare, to exalt themselves, and to smite them in the face.[1]

The whole of the decisions, explanations, comments and definitions of the Rabbis were collected together under the name of the Halacha, which word signifies *result* as much as *practice.* The passages of the Halacha, in order to keep the tradition uncorrupted, were to be communicated in the very same words in which the teacher had first taught them. A retentive memory was therefore the first requirement of a good Rabbi. Thus the scribe Eliezer, who was a Pharisee of the time of the second insurrection, was celebrated as "a well-pitched trough that loses not a drop of water." Individual mental capacity was of far less importance. To any new conjectures, the Rabbi just mentioned used simply to reply, "That I have never heard," and this settled the question for him. But even Josephus boasts especially of his memory, in order to show his qualification for a scribe.[2] The great Hillel, moreover, was made the chief of the Sanhedrin only because of a happy citation. "The teachers say," is consequently the standing form of the Mishnah, and even in the Gospels an echo of this can be found in the question,

[1] 2 Cor. xi. 20. [2] Vita, 2.

"Why say the scribes that Elias must first come?"[1] In this purely oral procedure it is self-evident that those must have been the most important who were most practised and ready in citations. To overwhelm one's opponent by an unexpected citation was the Rabbi's highest art. Thus it seemed to these teachers to be an admirable answer which a Rabbi, a Pharisee, gave to a Sadducee, who asked why the Scriptures ought always to be written upon parchment made of the skins of clean animals—when he replied, "Because it is written: Thy word shall be continually in my mouth;"[2] or when another replied to the question, when the children ought to learn Greek, "In the time which is not day and not night; for it is written, In the law shalt thou meditate day and night." Similar scenes are recounted also by the Gospels. The Sadducees attempted to cast contempt upon Jesus' teaching of the resurrection of the dead by an imaginary story. Jesus replied to them, "Is it not written: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living"[3]—and utterly disconcerted them by this unexpected application of the words of the Scripture. Paul, too, corrected his outburst against the high-priest Ananias in the Sanhedrin by the apt quotation, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people"[4] (Exodus xxii. 28). Thus in every circumstance of life recourse to the Scriptures was the consolation and refuge of the Jew skilled in Rabbinical learning.

This custom of adducing proof by citation of some short emphatic word, and the adaptation of language not for written communications but oral transmission, gave the language its well-known sententious character. In this oral tradition such epigrammatic phrases were constantly rendered sharper and more easily comprehended, so that the Pirqe Aboth, just like

[1] Mark ix. 11. Also, the "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time," Matt. v. 21, 33.

[2] Herzfeld, iii. 386; Grätz, Th. iii. 79, 455, &c.

[3] Matt. xxii. 32.

[4] Acts xxiii. 5.

the Sermon on the Mount, gives of the speeches of the teachers only the "Logia;" that is, an abundance of proverb-like sentences, such as could never have been heard at one time in a single collection, although the teachers were certainly fond of the sententious form. The preference for the parable, also, corresponds to this purely oral method of instruction, since the parable catches the attention of hearers which is difficult to seize, and thus the hearer becomes master of the doctrine with the easily comprehended narrative. This method of instruction had been usual in Israel from ancient times, and so Jotham, the son of Jerubbaal, mocks the men of Shechem for making his brother Abimelech their king, in the parable of the trees who asked the bramble to rule over them.[1] In a similar manner does Isaiah tell of the vineyard of God, and Ezekiel of the valley of dry bones. The parable of the Sadducees of the woman who married seven brothers, is a proof how frequent and how preferred this form of instruction was at this time. Striking examples of this instruction by parables are preserved, which appear, however, to have been formed on those in the Gospels, and proceed from a later period.[2] "To whom was Moses our teacher like?" asks the Midrash Qoheleth.[3] "He was like the son of a woman a prisoner, who gave birth to her son in prison, and nursed him and died. Once the king passed by the door of the prison-house; then the boy began to cry out and to call, 'O Lord! I have been born here and bred here, and know not for what crime I am kept imprisoned.' The king answered, 'On account of the crimes of thy mother.'" The parable is to explain that Moses' death was not punishment for his sins, but for the sins of the ancestors. This, too, proves how common the parable was to the Rabbis, when the Rabbinical interpreta-

[1] Judges ix. 7; Isaiah v. 1; Ezekiel xxxvii. 1—14.

[2] So, for example, the parable of Rabbi Eliezer. To whom shall I liken him who repents not before the hour of his death? To a man who, going on a long sea voyage, takes no provisions with him. Pirqe R. Eliezer, c. 43. But this was in part first composed in the 8th century.

[3] Ecclesiastes vii. 15.

tion found parables in the text where none were to be found. The Rabbi who taught Jerome Hebrew, interpreted Ecclesiastes ix. 14, 15, in the following manner. The text runs, "I saw that there was a little city and few men within it, and there came a great king against it and besieged it . . . . and in it was a wise man that no man remembered." The little city is mankind, whom the philosophers name, indeed, the microcosmos; the enemy who besieges the city is the devil; the wise man whom no one remembers is conscience.[1]

The popular method of instruction re-echoed here, was certainly still more used at the time when the teacher's discourse was addressed to the whole of the people. This is shown, too, by the fact that Jesus so much prefers it.

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5. The Learning of the Scribes.

Compared with the very prominent position taken by the Rabbis in public life, the result of their learning, considered in its more restricted meaning, is for the proper understanding of our period a point of comparatively secondary consideration. From this very extensive domain, therefore, we only single out that which will in any way explain the literature of the New Testament.

The treatises of Philo, the Antiquities of Josephus, and the Jubilees prove, that even at that time the results of the study and interpretation of the Scriptures, a work which extended back into the earlier centuries, had become an inheritance in the schools. Many difficulties and many gaps in the narratives of the sacred histories had been discovered, and had either been removed or filled up by ingenious expositions, or by fables either newly composed or else learned from other nations. Many dogmatic stumbling-blocks were by these means explained away. Thus there were already a certain traditional method of interpre-

[1] Hieron. Qoheleth, 9, 141.

tation, and a number of sayings of former times in existence, which were in part as readily believed as the canonical narrative itself.

Thus, as the Jubilees prove, the question had been raised as to whether any one had been present when God had created the world, since every day's work could be enumerated, and it was confidently asserted that there had been a revelation in which the angel which appeared to Moses had communicated the history of creation. The same authority could state the day since which the mouths of beasts had been closed, so that they could no longer speak like the serpent had spoken. He knew also how the devil shared the world with God. He could tell exactly whence the sons of Adam had obtained their wives; who it was that helped Noah bring the animals into the ark; how the Hamitic tribe of the Canaanites, and the Japhetic of the Medes, found their way into a Semitic territory; why Rebecca had such a great predilection for Jacob; why Esau, in his hunger, sold his birthright so cheaply; why Onan refused to marry Tamar; why the child Moses could remain alive in the ark so long; and indeed whatever else seemed of importance to the curious Rabbi. To him, too, were known the names of the wives of all the generations from Adam to Terah, and the wives of the sons of Jacob; and not less so, the land into which Adam went when he left Paradise. The name of the peak of Ararat upon which the ark of Noah rested was in like manner known to him. He could narrate, too, the deeds done by Abraham in his youth; how he separated from his father in his second week of years in order to avoid idols; how when he was a lad of fourteen he forbad the flights of crows to light on a field which had been newly sown; how he invented ploughs and harrows for the Chaldeans, and like Hercules proved himself a hero by ten labours.[1] The description of the final contest of Esau with Jacob is presented in an especially romantic picture in the book

[1] So the Targum. Hieros on Gen. xxii. 1. Compare also the first books of the Antiquities of Josephus.

of the Jubilees; and in the form of a family history, the relations of the patriarchs to their grand-children and grand-parents, their children and parents-in-law, are given; in short, all their connections are drawn out of the past, the future and their contemporaries. A peculiarly rich cycle of myths has been interwoven around the life of Moses, which we find related with tolerable unanimity in Philo and Josephus. Philo, for example, is able to inform us why God decreed exactly ten plagues against the Egyptians; he knows which Jehovah accomplished by means of Aaron, which by means of Moses, and which He reserved for Himself; and he can also explain the grounds for this distribution.[1] These interpretative adornments, which owed their origin at first to the descriptive homiletic explanations of the synagogues, had become so real to all these writers, that they give them without any hesitation as part of the sacred narratives. Excusable errors of the daughters of Lot, the youthful adventures of the great Lawgiver, prophecies concerning him by the wise men of Egypt, are narrated with the same assurance as any of the statements of the Thorah itself.[2] And thus these Rabbinical doctrines were, it seems, universally discussed in the schools. Even Paul has no doubt but that the rock which gave water to the thirsting children of Israel in the desert was the Messiah, who followed the wandering people in the form of a rock.[3] In like manner, John is confident that the ark of the covenant, as well as the pot of manna[4] which stood in the holy of holies of the ancient temple, had been taken up into heaven when the temple had been destroyed by the Chaldeans, in order that they might again appear in the Messianic kingdom. And other similar examples of how tradition had in time attained the value of actual Scripture could easily be found.

By the side of this bold exercise of the imagination must be ranked at the same time, however, a most narrow-minded reverence for the letter, which was the necessary consequence of the

[1] Philo, Mos. i. Mang. 9, 6.
[2] Antiq. ii. 9, 2.
[3] 1 Cor. x. 4.
[4] Rev. ii. 17, xi. 19.

mechanical theory of inspiration among the Rabbis. This entailed that in every accident of the text or of the manner of writing, a special secret was to be discovered, since even the external formation of the Scripture might not be ascribed to any mere chance, but must be believed to be from a well-considered divine will.

From the rhetorical repetition in Isaiah xl. 1, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people," the Midrash concludes that at this point two-fold and very weighty prophecies begin. The word וַיִּיצֶר, in Genesis ii. 7, has two י, because God created men with two יֵצֶר, a good and an evil inclination.[1] Thus nothing that was remarkable was passed over, or explained as in any way due to the imperfection attaching to all human writings; but in every unusual term, in each unnecessary repetition, even in every omission, was that more exact definition of the law sought for, which it was the work of the learned to find out. Hence arose a habit of pressing upon the letter, from which no scribe at this period escaped. Even Paul proves that the promise to Abraham in Genesis xxii. 18, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves," was spoken not of Israel but of Jesus, on the ground that because in his Septuagint he reads ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου in the singular, therefore it follows that the promise is of a single person and not of a people.[1]

From the importance attached to every single letter, is it also possible to understand the characteristic peculiarities of the Rabbinical Masorets. The great work of the scribes was, as has been already observed, the multiplication of the text; and in this intensive occupation with what was regarded as the verbally inspired letter, they had, even at this period, become much advanced in these purely external observations which have been preserved in great number in the Masorah, although it did not obtain its final written form until a later period. It had been counted up which was the middle letter of the Thorah; how often a word had been written *defective* or *plene;* and whether with these or with those

[1] Gal. iii. 16.

vowels or reading signs; whether it stood with or without the article. It had been determined that only two verses of the Thorah began with ב (Exodus xxxii. 8 and Numbers xiv. 19); and the separate occurrences were registered in their several categories and classes. In preserving the text from corruption, these arts have been of the greatest service.

Even among the people, this kind of knowledge was so deeply diffused, that Jesus can assume a knowledge of the first murder and the last mentioned in the Scriptures, without further explanation, among the crowd gathered in the temple;[1] and that the very text, with its letters, curves and strokes, stood so distinctly before their eyes, that in one of his discourses, raising his voice, he cries out, "Not one letter or one stroke shall pass away."[2]

After this multiplication of the text of Scripture which offered opportunity for such observations, the next duty of the scribe was to prepare Targumim for the use of the synagogues. These Targumim the Turgman had to learn by heart, in order not to give rise to the supposition that any second scripture should be placed beside the Scriptures. From the eminently practical direction of the Rabbis to the realization of the law in life, it is self-evident that their schools would be filled with disputations on the application of texts of Scripture to actual cases, and their teaching was a really practical exegesis. Here, too, again and again were farther consequences drawn from the same text, the ideas distinguished, one precept combined with another and a third deduced from the result, casuistical problems discussed and solved, and, in short, all the controversies treated of, the literary deposits of which have at last found their way into the Talmud. For the purpose of deducing traditional or even new precepts or truths from the Thorah, Rabbi Hillel framed seven canons of interpretation, by means of which it was possible to obtain scriptural proof for the precepts contained *implicite* in the law.

[1] Matthew xxiii. 35. See Genesis iv. 8, and 2 Chronicles xxiv. 20, 21.

[2] Matthew v. 18.

According to him, reasons ought to be drawn—(1) from the less important to the more important, and the opposite; (2) according to analogy; (3) from a general proposition in the Scripture occurring once, to a particular instance; (4) from a proposition which can be deduced from several passages; (5) from the antithesis of universal and particular; (6) according to the internal relationship of the instances; (7) according to the context.[1] Such means of drawing conclusions made it easy to advance the most daring proofs, and upon them especially rests the proverbial subtlety of the Rabbinical scriptural proofs. But how much such methods were due to the time, and were necessary to a culture which had outgrown the limits of its hereditary sacred sources, yet was not only anxious but compelled to justify itself from them, is proved by the approbation with which Hillel's canons of interpretation were received, and the author on their account praised as a second Ezra. Even finer intellects, as those of Philo and Josephus, and more earnest minds, as that of Paul, could not escape from these methods; they could only limit them in their application, and through their religious feeling employ them in proving moral truths instead of framing Rabbinical vagaries.

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6. Secret Doctrine.

It yet remains to say something on that side of the learning of the scribes which was considered by them more as a secret doctrine belonging only to those who were initiated into its mysteries, but which, nevertheless, was intimately connected with the whole method of treating the Scriptures usual in the schools. As the whole of tradition was in their opinion to be found contained in the written text by those who possessed "the key of Gnosis," so did they hold it possible that other secrets were also concealed in it, to be brought to light by those

[1] Succa, 10, a; Grätz, iii. 175.

whose eyes had been opened. It was in Alexandria that this doctrine of a deeper pneumatic sense being concealed beneath the historically critical meaning first arose and was developed. For by this means did it become possible to remove much from Scripture which was offensive to the people there, who were infused with Greek culture; and, on the other hand, was it also possible by this theory to introduce without difficulty into the Scriptures those theories of Greek philosophy with which they had become intimate.

Among the Palestinian scribes, on the other hand, from ancient times another mode of interpretation had been used, which followed finally in the same course, however, of seeking to discover a secret sense in the text. This was the application of the secret doctrine of numbers to exegetical purposes, which afterwards was called "tradition," "Qabbalah."

This doctrine of secret numbers, which had been communicated by the Chaldeans to the Jews, was made to serve not only as a key to the secrets of nature,[1] but also as a key to the records of revelation. As the scribe regarded the words of the sacred text according to their numerical value, he found the solution of hidden secrets of which the profane reader had no suspicion. In the first and last verses of the Bible there stand 6 א, which =6000; therefore concluded the Qabbalist that the world would last for 6000 years. Much deeper, however, had the Divine Spirit concealed the secrets in other words, so that a word of equal numerical value had to be substituted for them in order to bring out the true meaning. A well-known example of this kind occurs in Onkelos on Numbers xii. 1, where the text asserts that Moses had married an Ethiopian woman, which in the eyes of the scribes could not have been really intended, as it was an offence against Moses' own law. The letters of כּוּשִׁית, therefore, were added together (20 + 6 + 300 + 10 + 400) = 736.

[1] Compare Sepher Jezirah, published by F. v. Meyer, Leipzig, 1830; and also the article by Reuss in Herzog's Realencyklopædie; and Hausrath's Essay on the subject in the Protestantische Kirchenzeitung, 1863, Number 27.

The same numerical value was given by the words יפת־מראה (10 + 80 + 400) + (40 + 200 + 1 + 5) = 736. Thus the offence was removed, and in place of the Ethiopian woman, had Moses, according to this, married a woman of beautiful countenance. By the application of similar exegetical means, the writer of the Epistle of Barnabas, who was a master of the scribes' learning, finds in the narrative of Genesis xvii. 27, compared with xiv. 14, of the circumcision of the 318 followers of the patriarch Abraham, a reference to Jesus. "What, then, was the knowledge given by it in this?" he asks. "Learn the eighteen first, and then the three hundred. The ten and the eight are thus denoted—Ten by I, and eight by H. You have the initials of the name of Jesus (I H). And because the cross was to express the grace of our redemption by the letter Tau (T), he says also, 'Three Hundred.' He signifies, therefore, Jesus by two letters, and the cross by one. He knows this, who has put within us the engrafted gift of His doctrine. No one has been admitted by me to a more excellent piece of knowledge than this, but I know that ye are worthy."[1] According to this method does a somewhat later Christian writer prove his proposition that the Logos had been united with Jesus at the Baptism; for the numerical value of the dove, περιστερὰ, = 801, and 801 in letters is AΩ, which is what the Saviour calls himself in the Apocalypse.[2] How much the use of this doctrine of secret numbers prevailed, is shown by the fact that there was quite a series of writers at this period who actually incorporated these numerical problems, just as they were assumed to exist in the Scriptures, in their own works. The book of Enoch changed the name Jehovah into the mysterious name of Akâe or Beka, after the manner of the Gematria, or some other of the Qabbalistic art.[3] In a similar way do we read in a Christian interpolation in the first book of the Sybilline Oracles, a Qabbalistic description of the name of Jesus (Ιησους).

[1] Epistle of Barnabas, cap. ix. [2] Iren. Adv. Hær. i. 14, 6.

[3] Das Buch Henoch, cap 69, 15; see Dillman's note, page 213 of his edition.

"Four vowels are there and two consonants,
Eight units the number, and tens just so many;
Then to that add eight hundred, and the name in its value appears."[1]

The John of the Apocalypse declares in the same way the secret as to who it is that he holds to be the Antichrist. "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man: and his number is six hundred and threescore and six" (666).[2] The ancient church certainly knew the solution of the problem, and read quite correctly Neron Kesar. At least in Nero, who was expected to return again, was seen the Antichrist there foretold.[3]

Another method of elucidating obscure passages of the text was that of Atbash, so called because (a) א was substituted for (t) ת, (b) ב for (sh) ש, the last letters of the alphabet being given the significations of the first, and so on. The Targum Jonathan explains by this method the obscure word ששך of Jeremiah xxv. 26 and li. 41, in that it substitutes Babel בבל for it, and declares that this was the meaning even in the spirit of the prophet, who must have known why Sheshak was written when Babel was intended.

By a kindred method can the problem of the mysterious name Taxo in the Prophecies of Moses be solved, and in a manner the contrary to that of the Gematria is framed the description of the Pleroma among the Basilidians, as Abraxas, which is only the number 365 pronounced as a word, the number containing the Pleroma of the days of the year. According to a kindred art, again, the letters were exchanged one for another by anagrams. By this method (called Temura) does Revelation xvi. 16 give for Rômah hagedôlah the mysterious word Harmagedol, which was a double problem; for while the second word was

[1] Book i. 325 f.

[2] Rev. xiii. 18.

[3] At any time the cipher must have been thus explained, as appears from the fact that Irenæus, Hær. 5, 30, gives the variation 616, which exactly corresponds to the Latin pronunciation of Nero Kesar. In the same way, too, does Sulpicius Severus refer the deadly wound which was healed of the beast, whose cipher is 666, to Nero. Hist. Sacr. ii. 29, 6.

speedily recognized by those who read Hebrew as an anagram of the first, both words have in addition the same numerical value (304); so that the question of what John intended by "the great city," was answered with a twofold clearness by those who were intended to understand it.

Meanwhile the scribes had not simply transferred these purely external arts, out of the doctrine of numbers so dear to the Chaldeans and Egyptians, into their own learning. Hebrew thought, even in its classic times, followed the fundamental principle of ancient philosophy, that the mystery of the world lay concealed in number, whilst modern science, occupied in the analysis of bodies, derives the life in the world from the properties of things. The gaze of antiquity was directed rather to the superficial aspect of things, and what especially caught the eye was, that things were thus measured off, divided and counted.[1] The relativity of things appeared to it to be the ground of the cosmic arrangement. The world consists of a sum of magnitudes, and in the mysterious relation of the magnitudes to one another was sought the ground of their arrangement and conformity to Law. But relation is always a relation of magnitude, i.e. number. As we now explain the operations of the world from our conception of 'force,' 'property,' so the ancient world explained them from that of 'number.' The harmony of numbers was the world's mystery, and the mathematical relations of each thing were the ground and essence of its nature. The universe rests upon one great hidden system of numbers, and the separate bodies rest upon the combination and configuration of the separate numbers. Upon the ground of this idea of the nature of numbers rested also the significance of the

[1] "Thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight," says the Wisdom of Solomon, xi. 20, where we should say, Thou hast placed all these forces in things. So Ecclesiasticus xvi. 26: "The works of the Lord are done in judgment from the beginning; and from the time he made them he disposed the parts thereof. He disposed his works upon every side, and the chief of them unto all generations." Compare also Isaiah xl. 12: "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted our heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?"

separate numbers.[1] The most important and sacred number was even in ancient times that of seven, which, based on the observation of the changes of the moon, found its way into the calendar, and thence penetrated deeply into the manners and customs of the people. Most emphatically does Philo praise it as the sacred number, "which is stamped upon the heaven and the whole universe, and that is glorified by Nature. Moses found it motherless, not partaking of female conception, begotten by a father alone, and formed not in the womb. Then he saw that not only was it magnificent and without a mother, but also that it was ever a virgin, neither born of a mother, nor itself a mother. At last Moses learned that the seventh day was the birthday of the world, which heaven and earth and all upon the earth celebrate, rejoicing and making merry on account of the day on which all was founded."[2] After the number seven, the number ten was of next significance, as the foundation of the Decade system. What proceeds from it returns unto it back; therefore the regular vicissitudes of the cosmic life are subject to it, the regular successions of history, the complement of rewards and punishments.[3] The number three is also of significance as the signature of Deity, the number four as the signature of the world, and twelve as symbol of the people of God.[4]

At the time when the little book of Jezirah was composed, a point which is somewhat difficult to determine, these qualities of the numbers were thought of as operative, so that the conformation of the universe depended upon them. The sum of the sacred numbers amounted to thirty-two, twenty-two of which had letters as their signs; ten were pure numbers. These pure numbers, the Sephiroth, were considered to present the pure being of God; the twenty-two letter numbers, on the other hand, stand already one step nearer to reality, and as the creative

[1] Compare Bähr, Symbol. d. Mos. Kultus, i. 130.

[2] Vita Mos. iii., Mang. 156.

[3] Philo, Mos. i. 95, iii. 147; Opif. Mundi, i. p. 21 sq. Mang.

[4] Compare Mos. i. 95, 96, iii. 147, and, as before, Mangold.

word of God condition the qualities of existence. Thus, for example, because there are three "mothers" of the alphabet, the first, middle and last letters, therefore there are in the world the three categories of position, opposition, and composition; because there are letters which can be pronounced either hard or soft, therefore the category of pure antithesis exists, and so forth. Upon this ground the name of a thing can never be indifferent; rather does it constitute in a mysterious manner the nature and character of the object, for that exactly these letters form the name, is the very cause which gave to the thing named a definite signature.[1] Although this may be in part a somewhat later development of the doctrine of numbers, yet a cognate conception stands in the background; for the Judaism of this period always sought a deep and mystic signification in names, either by assuming an internal connection between names the same or of the same value, or a prophecy of fate, or an intimation of the character. That Sinai and Hagar had the same name in Arabic, appears to Paul a proof that the law from Sinai brought forth slaves as Hagar had done.[2] That Caligula's successor was named Claudius, i.e. ὁ κατέχων, which means "he who now hinders," signifies that the emperor of this name yet delays the coming of Antichrist, just as if he placed an obstacle in his way.[3] That Jesus had been a Nezer (from Nazareth), is in Matthew ii. 23 found to be full of significance, since in the Scriptures, Isaiah xi. 1, the Messiah had been also called Nezer (a shoot). That the pool to which the man born blind was "sent" was called Siloam, seems to the fourth Evangelist worthy of mention, for he remarks that Siloam means "the sent" (ix. 7). Value was attached to such observations; for according to the presumptions mentioned, the name was anything but "smoke and sound;" rather was it the mysterious foundation of the thing named, upon which its nature rests, and according to which its life is developed. "To him that overcometh," says the Revelation of John ii. 17, "will

[1] Ber. Bab. fol. 4, 1, refers the entire creation even in this sense to God's "Word."
[2] Galatians iv. 25. [3] 2 Thessalonians ii. 6—9.

I give a white stone, and in a stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it;" and the Messiah himself bears a "name written that no man knoweth but he himself."[1]

As, accordingly, the world is to be explained in its deepest relations from the character of the letter, that is, number, so are numbers also the law and measure of the occurrences of individual life as well as of history; and he who knows their law knows also "what shall happen hereafter." Thus from the nature of numbers the Qabbalists deduced the future of the kingdom of God; for, since the contents of its history is already revealed in the prophets, is it therefore only necessary to gain a standpoint in the present, from which, according to the law of sacred numbers, it can be calculated how long the fulfilment of that which yet remains will be delayed.

This custom was as old as the belief in significant numbers itself; Isaiah prophecies to Tyre a period of punishment, and Jeremiah to the Jews a period of exile of seventy years.[2] The sacred number seven should be repeated ten times, for the decade denotes the fulfilment of times, after which a new æon begins.[3] This term of the seventieth year, at whose end Jeremiah had expected the advent of the kingdom of God, formed henceforth the basis of every calculation as to the future, as much from reverence for the word of the prophet as from belief in the significant number. Had not God himself in the Sabbath consecrated the number seven for the foundation of the history of his kingdom? It could indeed be doubled or increased in greater ratios, but history must of necessity always finally return to it. So Daniel enlarges the seventy years of Jeremiah to seventy weeks of years,[4] that is to 70×7 years, after whose end the kingdom of God will come. Seven weeks of years was it from Jeremiah's prophecy to the deliverance under Cyrus (606 to 557 B.C.); sixty-two to Antiochus Epiphanes (172 B.C.)[5] A final

[1] Rev. xix. 2.
[2] Isaiah xxiii. 17; Jeremiah xxix. 10.
[3] Philo, Mos. i. 96.
[4] Daniel ix. 24.
[5] Ibid.

week, however, yet remains; so that apparently at least a chain of 70 × 7 years is formed:

606 (date of Jeremiah) − (7 × 7) = 557 (date of Cyrus)
[558 date of victory over Astyages]
606 − (7 × 62) = 172 date of Antiochus Epiphanes
606 − (7 × 62 + 7) = 165 Last Judgment.

The continuance of distress and oppression during these last times is also not concealed from the writer, for it must endure for the period of a number of ill omen, that is for three and a half years; for three and a half, the broken sacred seven, is the signature of iniquity in which and with which the power of the godless expires.[1]

By another calculation than Daniel's, but by the same method essentially, has the book of Enoch declared that the number of rulers from the destruction of the temple to the advent of the Messiah must attain to seventy.[2] The times of the rulers are to be grouped according to the following scheme:

$$(12 + 23) + (23 + 12) = 70.$$

The great division in the middle gives him the Macedonian Alexander; as before him there had been first the twelve times of oppression and the twenty-three times of the milder Persian dominion, so there followed after him twenty-three times of relatively milder governors of the Grecian period, and then, in repetition of the beginning of the chain of numbers, again twelve times of oppression, until the sheep with the great horn (John Hyrcanus) will free the sheep of Israel, whereupon the Messianic times begin.[3] Another section of the same book, the so-called Apocalypse of Weeks,[4] places its calculations upon the significance of the number ten, in which all numbers are completed. The whole history of the world is represented as running through ten weeks of years; then this æon is finished, and the times return into themselves again. Each of these

[1] Daniel vii. 25, viii. 14. For the significance of three and a half, compare Rev. xi. 11; Luke iv. 25; James v. 17.

[2] Das Buch Henoch, cap. 89, in Dillmann, § 59, p. 61.

[3] Cap. 90, 2. [4] Cap. 93 and 91, 12—17.

weeks has seven times, so that once more the period of the world terminates with the number seventy. These times are formed by the generations.[1] Seven weeks, forty-nine generations, are passed away; twenty-one yet arise; but the eighth week is already the beginning of the Messianic times.

From the time of Jesus as a starting-point, but according to the same method, does the writer of the Apocalypse calculate the return of Jesus. For him also has the book of fate seven seals, six of which belong to the past, and the seventh has just been opened. This seventh seal, however, is divided again into seven trumpets, of which the seventh has to bring judgment upon the unconverted Jerusalem. Three and a half years will Jerusalem be trodden down by the Gentiles; then comes the decisive contest, and in seven cups of wrath punishment upon the sinful world.[2] The time is to be calculated from the number of the Roman emperors, for that these will amount to seven follows from the number seven itself, in which the course of salvation runs, and is, moreover, signified also by the fact that Rome is built upon seven hills.[3] Of these seven, the sixth (Galba) already reigns, and the seventh cannot long delay, because the fifth returns again, whose name is 666—Neron Kesar, the Antichrist, whom the spirit follows.[4] Perhaps the writer has allotted such a short reign to the seventh Cæsar on this account also, that from the birth of Christ, whatever be the precise year in which he places it, about seventy years, since his crucifixion in any case thirty-five years—that is, two times, a time and half a time—are elapsed; a circumstance which from his conception of the number seven could not appear insignificant.

The author of the Apocalypse is, moreover, not the only writer of the New Testament who sets out from the idea that history is governed by the law of numbers. Matthew, at the end of the genealogy of Jesus which he gives, makes the remark: "All the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen gene-

[1] Henoch, Dillman, page 301.
[2] Rev. xi. 13.
[3] Rev. xvii. 9.
[4] Rev. xvii. 10, xiii. 3, 18.

rations (7 + 7); and from David until the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations (7 + 7); and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations (7 + 7)."[1] With a similar intent have Luke and James given the period of the drought by which Elias punished Israel as three and a half years, the significant number of misfortune, although the Books of Kings say nothing about it.[2]

An especially strong example of belief in the significance of numbers is given us by Josephus in his exposition of Daniel ix. 27, which passage he and his contemporaries understood to mean that the temple would be destroyed whenever it should be made quadrangular.[3] For four is the signature of the world, and its figure contradicts the meaning of the sanctuary: it will fall into ruins, therefore, whenever it is made into the "abomination of a quadrangle." And consequently Josephus accounts for the destruction of the temple by the fact that the Zealots, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made it quadrangular in shape. The temple, in that it ought to be the image of heaven, had been built from ancient times in the symbolical relations of numbers. Its architecture was founded, not upon a harmony of constituent members, well pleasing to the eye, but upon the laws of sacred numbers. The temple had in consequence never been beautiful, but it was theologically correct.[4]

Similar opinions governed the Jewish writers also; and this must be kept in view, especially in reading such significantly symbolical books as the Apocalypses, for example, in order that the images, often grotesque, which occur in Daniel, Enoch, and especially in John, may be understood.

The Lamb at the throne of God has seven horns and seven

[1] Matthew i. 17.

[2] Luke iv. 25; James v. 17, in contrast with 1 Kings xviii. 1, and Jos. Antiq. viii. 13, 2.

[3] Bell. Jud. vi. 5, 4. The passage, "on the wing of Abomination (probably the eagle of Jupiter, which had been introduced on the Syrian altar) comes desolation," had consequently been translated, "on the corner of Abomination," for כנף can also mean a corner (Deut. xxii. 12; Isaiah xi. 12; Ezekiel vii. 2).

[4] Compare Philo, Vita Mos. iii., Mangold, ii. 149.

eyes, in order to denote his omnipotence and omniscience. Satan has seven heads, in order to symbolize the number seven of the Cæsars; seven candlesticks represent the churches of Asia; a diadem with twelve jewels is an emblem of the true Israel; the woman which sits upon seven hills, an emblem of the town of seven hills. Not only beauty, but even the natural order of thought in the arrangement of materials, was sacrificed to this symbolism of numbers, in order that the whole work might be ruled by significant numbers. The Book of Wisdom gives Wisdom 3×7 attributes.[1] In order to make seven books of his History of the Wars of the Jews, Josephus has divided the materials most unequally. Even Matthew has grouped his book upon similar principles. The number three regulates the temptation in the wilderness and in Gethsemane. The number seven, the genealogical registers, the Sermon on the Mount and the parables. The number ten, the narratives of the miracles. In the genealogical register, the writer even strikes four kings out of history, in order to bring out three series of 2×7 members. The writer of the Apocalypse especially has with the greatest art grouped his material into 7×7 parts in such a manner, that six sevens are enclosed by a seven, and five of them are artificially united to each other, so that the last number is always resolved into a new chain of seven.[2]

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7. The Practical Application of Secret Doctrine.

When, as we before explained, according to the opinion of the scribes, the secret ground of Being lay in the name, because the numbers which form it describe the relations of another world upon which this present one rests, it becomes easily ex-

[1] Wisdom of Solomon, viii. vi. 11—20. Compare Ewald, History of Israel, English Translation, v. 479.

[2] Compare Ewald, Johann Schrift, ii. 38—48; and also Dr. Hausrath's commentary on the Apocalypse in Bunsen's Bibelwerk, iv. 633—669.

plicable that to the names of mighty beings an especial power and influence was ascribed. In fact, it was believed that the beings of higher orders could be set in action when their ciphers were pronounced; and there was an entire secret doctrine which contained the ranks of spirits and angels, and the manner of their adjuration.

The most mighty of all names is naturally the ineffable name Jehovah itself—"the number of Kesbeel," or "the oath Akâe," as the book of Enoch calls it, which thus describes its power: "This is the power of that oath: It is powerful and strong, and God placed this oath of Akâe into the hand of the holy Michael. And these are the secrets of this oath, and they were confirmed by his oath, and through that oath heaven was suspended, before the world was created and unto eternity. And through it was the earth founded upon the water, and from the concealed parts of the mountains comes beautiful water for the living, from the creation of the world unto eternity. And through that oath was the sea formed, and as its foundation, for the period of its fury, was the sand established, which it may not pass over from the creation of the world unto eternity. And through that oath were the abysses established and stand, and move not from their place for ever and ever. And through that oath do sun and moon complete their course, and the stars, and even the spirits of the water, of the winds and all breezes, according to all the combinations of the spirits," &c.[1] But since such active spells and so powerful an influence were ascribed to the name of the superior powers, it is not to be wondered at that those who knew these names used their knowledge in order to test their strength. If the knowledge of the sacred numbers gave information as to the future, why should not their application give power also over the present?

In fact, from this mystic view of number, the natural consequence was the superstition that in this combination of numbers and series of letters, mysteriously working forces, theurgic means,

[1] Das Buch Henoch, cap. 69, 14—24, Dillman, p. 39.

mighty talismans, protective amulets and formidable anathemas were to be obtained, by which miracles could be worked, the sick healed, and demons put to flight. Such theurgic formulas were formed of mysterious letters, rare names of angels, passages from the Scripture, but especially the name of God, which, unpronounceable by the unconsecrated, gave, when rightly reckoned, power to the Qabbalists to draw the moon from heaven, or to open abysses in the earth.

That the instruments of the mediæval Qabbalah were already in use at this time, is shown by reference to very ancient amulets with Hebrew letters, whose peculiar harmony of numbers or configuration of lines may have served as mysterious powers, the influence of which the spirit-world could not withstand: to the Hexalpha and Pentalpha, which are mentioned even in the history of Alexander the Great; to the erection of the horoscope upon the numerical value of the name, necessitating the later *vota vitæ et mortis*.[1] Certainly, throughout the whole of the Roman empire the Jews were classed as great magicians, interpreters of dreams, and *mathematici*.[2] They were frequently even associated with the Chaldeans.[3] Sorcerers and books for magic are often mentioned in the New Testament, and their art forbidden the congregations as a prohibited one.[4] Josephus, on the other hand, boasts that a special power over spirits has been bestowed upon his fellow-countrymen. "Solomon," he says, "left behind him certain words in order to heal sicknesses, and incantations by which such power is gained over the evil spirits that they never again return."[5] In his opinion, even the prophets had made use of this black art; as, for example,

[1] Athanas, Kircher, Arithmologia, Rom. 1665.

[2] Juvenal, Sat. vi. 542; Jos. Antiq. xviii. 3, 4, 5. Compare Gieseler's Kirchen Geschichte, i. 1, 57; Justin Martyr, Apol. 2, 7, c. Trypho, p. 311.

[3] Tacitus, Ann. xii. 52. Compare Jos. Antiq. xviii. 3, 5; Dio Cass. 60, 6; Suet. Claudius, 25.

[4] Acts viii. 9, xiii. 6, 8, xix. 19; Matt. xii. 27; Mark ix. 38; Galatians v. 20; 2 Timothy iii. 13.

[5] Antiq. viii. 2, 5.

to the account of 2 Kings ii. 19—22, Josephus adds that Elisha had cleansed the fountain at Jericho by his prayer, "which he accompanied with many movements of his hands, according to a certain science."[1] This superstitious science became the more adapted for general acceptance in public life by the rise of a new manner of thought. For there was hardly any belief which, since the Persian times, had occupied the imagination of ordinary men, especially in Galilee, more vividly than that of the activity of demons, that is, of those wicked subordinate spirits having their origin in Parseeism; whose activity, according to the book of Tobit and the Gospels, consisted in insulting, tormenting and injuring men. The chief of them was the Phœnician Beelzebul; but the Persian Æshma Daëva was, as Asmodeus, also current in Judaism;[2] and so too were numberless other Devs, Azâzêl,[3] Sammaël and others, a rabble of foreign spirits, of whom ancient Israel had known nothing, but which a later superstition interpreted into the Scriptures.

According to the book of Enoch, demons are the souls of the giants whom the angels had formerly begotten of the daughters of men. Their bodies were mortal, but their souls were immortal, and they roamed about in order to ever find new bodies for themselves. They take possession of men, and even to dwell in beasts is a relief to them,[4] since, when they can find no living refuge, they must wander in the wilderness or travel to the abyss.[5] To them were ascribed all the ills of man and beast about whose character there was any uncertainty.[6]

Mental maladies were pre-eminently of demoniac origin. So Josephus knows that King Saul had been tormented by evil spirits which desired to suffocate and choke him.[7] Epilepsy

[1] Bell. iv. 8, 3.

[2] History of Israel, Ewald, English Translation, Vol. v. p. 209, note 3.

[3] Henoch, cap. 6; compare also Keim's Jesus of Nazara, English Translation, iii. 226.

[4] Mark v. 10, 13. [5] Matthew xii. 43; Luke xi. 24, viii. 31.

[6] Luke ix. 39; 1 Cor. v. 5, xi. 29, 30; 2 Cor. xii. 7; Matt. ix. 32, 33, xii. 22; Luke xiii. 11, 16.

[7] Antiq. vi. 8, 2.

also he explains to be the effect of sudden attacks of evil spirits, which would at once kill the person seized, were not prompt assistance rendered. In like manner the book of Enoch ascribes all sudden, inexplicable accidents to the account of the demons; "the stroke of the embryo in the womb, so that it is destroyed; and the stroke of the soul, the bite of the serpent, and the stroke which happens at mid-day,"[1] they were all attributed to the action of demons. Especially were thus interpreted all the conditions in which the personality of the man is either entirely or partly deprived of its freedom, as, for example, in addition to the above-named diseases, dumbness,[2] gout,[3] blindness;[4] because it was believed that the restraint of personal life could only be occasioned by personal influence.[5]

But if all diseases were occasioned by possession, then their right treatment was also quite naturally exorcism. It was the scribes again who were masters of this art, since they knew the sacred name, before which especially did the demons tremble. In Enoch it is the great oath Beka or Akâe before which the demons quake, and through which men are protected; "and their way is protected and their course is not destroyed."[6] According to the book of Jubilees, the angels had also made known to father Noah the means of this art. "All the means of healing diseases caused by demons did we tell Noah, together with their arts of seduction, and how they are cured by the plants of the earth; and Noah wrote all down that we had taught him in a book, of every kind of means of healing."[7] The Essenes especially seem to have been in possession of such secrets. In their application, all sorts of means which acted powerfully upon the imagination appear to have been enjoined. Josephus speaks of extraordinary gesticulations;[8] Justin, of exorcism, fumigations and loosening of knots, since bewitchment was accomplished by the tying of knots.[9]

[1] Henoch, 69, 12. [2] Mark ix. 17; Matt. ix. 32. [3] Luke xiii. 11.
[4] Matt. xii. 22. [5] Compare Weizsäcker, Evan. Gesch. 375.
[6] Henoch, 69, 25. [7] Jubil. 10 (1850, 254).
[8] Bell. Jud. iv. 8, 3. [9] Dialog. c. Trypho, p. 311.

"Take the embers of perfume," says Raphael to Tobias, "and lay upon them some of the heart and liver of a fish, and make a smoke with it; and the demon shall smell it and flee away, and never come again any more."[1] Moreover, a chief means of exorcism was the root Baara. This extraordinary plant grew in the lonely valley of Baara, near Machærus; its root was of a flame-red colour, and threw out fiery beams at night. If one tried to pull it out, it drew itself back into the ground, provided that one had not compelled it previously to remain stationary by special means. If it were broken off, it caused death, in case a part remained behind in the earth. The Baara-gatherer consequently fastened a dog to the loosened plant, and compelled him by blows to run on. As soon as the root breaks off, the dog dies, but the root may now be used without injury. It has this property, that when any one brings it near to one possessed, the demon is driven out and the sick person healed.[2] Other means of overcoming hell were traced back to King Solomon, who was said to have left behind formulas and exorcisms, especially the mysterious root of Solomon, which banished the demons for ever. This root was carried in a ring which was applied to the nose of the person possessed; then, allowed to smell it, the evil spirit was drawn out through the nostrils.[3]

But David also had, according to the opinion of the scribes, exorcised the evil spirit of Saul by a magic song, when the art of the physicians had been applied in vain, and these songs had been inherited from him by his son.[4]

Vespasian and his two sons, in presence of many officers, witnessed how a Jew named Eleazar compelled a demon he expelled as he passed out to overthrow a goblet or washing-bason, in order to show that he was come out.[5] To all these means of exorcism an especial value was attached, if the demon remained banished for ever;[6] for the spirit which had been driven out

[1] Tobit. vi. 16, 17.
[2] Jos. Bell. vii. 6, 3.
[3] Antiq. viii. 2, 5.
[4] Antiq. vi. 8, 2—11, 3.
[5] Antiq. viii. 2, 5.
[6] Tobit. vi. 17; Antiq. viii. 2, 5.

wandered through desert places, seeking rest and finding none, and then it saith, "I will return into my house from whence I came out."[1] When purely *psychical* means of cure were used, the return of the distemper was as a rule very frequent; nevertheless, this treatment of the sick remained in general use. Josephus calls exorcism a special gift of his people;[2] and Jesus refers to the exorcising of the scribes in the words, "If I by Beelzebul cast out devils, by whom do your children cast out?"[3] According to the very nature of things, these gifts could not be communicated to every Rabbi, but only to certain individuals who were especially favoured from on high, or who, through wise teachers or other favoured beings, had made themselves acquainted with these mysterious means.

It might be supposed that these entirely irrational means of cure, so often failing in results, would in a short time have prevented any demand for them; but where in all the world is not the medicine of the people of a similar kind? The great influence of spiritual impressions upon diseased conditions of organic life, easily explains how a nation could content itself with this method of treatment; for at times, in a people of preponderating imagination, frequent results could be shown. Unsuccessful cures proved nothing against the method, but only against the physician who was not powerful enough, or against the prescription and talisman which were not strong enough. It must also be noticed that the scientific methods of healing were at this time not much more rational. "He that sinneth before his Maker, let him fall into the hand of the physician," cries Jesus, the son of Sirach.[4] He cannot help admiring, it is true, the high position which the scribes had taken in this direction also, but it seems as though he were divided between belief and unbelief in their art. "Honour a physician for the uses which ye may have of him, for the Lord hath created him also." . . . "Pray to the Lord; he will make thee whole; and let not the physician go

[1] Matt. xii. 43.
[2] Antiq. viii. 25.
[3] Matt. xii. 27.
[4] Eccles. xxxviii. 15.

from thee, for there are times when in their hands there is good success."[1]

When the results of scientific medicine were thus doubtful, we cannot wonder that the methods of cure of the Rabbi, which rested upon psychical operations and nervous shocks, remained at the same time in good repute, especially when it is taken into consideration that they did not stand at everybody's command.[2]

[1] Eccles. xxxviii. 15, 1—14.

[2] What was the condition of so-called scientific methods of healings, even in the West, is best learned from a glance at Pliny's Natural History. The ashes of charred wolf's skull, the horns of a stag, heads of mice, eyes of crabs, owls' brains, salt of vipers, frogs' livers, locusts, bats, elephant lice, are the drugs with which the skilled physician worked; he even prescribed the gall of wild boars, horse's foam, woman's milk, the application of serpents' skins, the urine of calves which were unweaned, bears' grease, the extract of decocted buckshorn, and similar messes (Pliny, Hist. Nat. 28, 48, &c.). For colic, swine's dung or hare's dung was prescribed; for dysentery, pulverized horse-teeth; for disease of the bladder, the urine of wild boars' or asses' kidneys, or scraped mouse's fat (ibid. 53, 30, 21). It occasioned an easy delivery for a woman in childbed when she, or some one in her neighbourhood, eat wolf's flesh (28, 77); an obstinate cold was cured by kissing a mule upon the nose (30, 11); sore-throat, by scraping up the slime of snails, and then slowly smoking the snail (30, 11). Quinsy was healed by the brain of the moor-owl (30, 12); disease of the lungs, by the flesh of mice (30, 14); disease of the stomach, by boiled snails, but the number which are eaten must always be an uneven one (30, 15); costiveness, with pulverized bats (30, 20). Premature delivery was prevented by carrying about with one a living amphisbæna; a difficult one, by a serpent's skin around the loins (30, 43, 44). Bruises were relieved by frogs' eyes, which had been torn out at the conjunction of the moon and preserved in egg-shells (32, 24); toothache, by frogs cooked in vinegar (32, 26). Coughs were cured by the slime of frogs which had been suspended by the feet (32, 29). For fractures, sea-urchins dissolved in asses' milk (32, 32); for mumps, scorpions cooked in wine (32, 34); for intermittent fever, the small stones from the head of the cod, but which must have been taken out at the full moon (37, 1). Under such circumstances, the healing by exorcism was decidedly to be preferred to the treatment of scientifically-educated physicians.

Third Division.

THE PARTIES.

THE PARTIES.

1. The Sadducees and Pharisees.

There is a wonderful contrast between the Jewish people and all their neighbours.

On the coast, wool, glass and purple are prepared. In the north, ships and freebooters are enlisted; the dominion of the Mediterranean is contested, and caravan-roads made to pay toll. In the south, a world-wide commerce springs into existence, quickly recognizing all the advantages for trade of the new Roman organizations, and energetically applying them. But these people dispute in the schools about their law, and consider it their one vocation to give expression, as conscientiously as possible, to the ideal of the theocracy in their life, in order that they may fulfil a promise which is not of this world.

In the same manner, too, within Judaism are the influential circles grouped; not according to the points of view of external politics, of dynastic interests, or of the questions of national prosperity or economy, but according to religious points of view, behind which are to be but indirectly discerned the oppositions of class and the civil aims of the multifarious circles of life. Certainly behind these theocratie forms is concealed the opposition, everywhere known, of a conservative and a reforming party; an opposition which history in constantly changing forms is ever anew producing. The opposition takes its name, now

from the warrior and priestly castes, now it is termed democracy and aristocracy, plebs and gentes, guilds and the patriciate, but it is always the same antithesis in which life is regenerated.

It was the SADDUCEES which represented in the Jewish state property and dominion, stability and law. They belonged to the upper classes, that is to the priestly class, to which the reversion of the highest temple offices had fallen.[1] Their name may have been given to them from the anciently celebrated family of the sons of Zadok, which, according to Ezekiel xl. 46, "among the sons of Levi come near to the Lord to minister unto him." Joshua ben Jozadak, too, the contemporary of Zerubbabel, had been a Zadokite, so that this stock had been regarded after the return, as it had been before, as the preferable family among the priestly families.[2] In any case, the Sadducees were at the time of Josephus and the Acts of the Apostles the holders of the highest temple offices, and representatives of the purest Jewish blood.[3] "Then the high-priest rose up, and all they that were with him, which is the sect of the Sadducees," declares the Acts of the Apostles, v. 14.

As usually is the case, here too the upper priestly classes were not those who possessed the most burning zeal for the sanctuary with which they were associated. This temple nobility counted among their ancestors not only high-priests like Joshua and Simon, but also apostates and traitors like Manasseh and Onias. Even in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, they had given occasion for the charge, that in breaking the theocratic ordinances the hand of the chiefs had been the first,[4] and had always shown an inclination to make themselves comfortable in the sanctuary.[5] As these families as Zadokites had prostituted themselves for the favour of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, as they as Hellenists had exhibited duplicity in the war with the

[1] Antiq. xviii. 1, 3, 4; Vita, i.; Acts iv. 1—3, v. 17.

[2] Ezek. xliii. 19, xliv. 15, xlviii. 11; 1 Chron. xii. 28, xxvii. 17; Ezra ii. 2, iii. 2.

[3] Antiq. xviii. 1, 3, 4; Acts iv. 1—3, v. 17.

[4] Ezra ix. 2.

[5] Nehemiah xiii. 7.

Syrians, so as Sadducees they had betrayed the interests of their position to the Gentile procurator, or half-Gentile king, in order that their privileges might not be sacrificed to the power of the temporary sovereign. Thus they had received the boon companions of the Herods into their priestly families,[1] and did not hesitate in upholding fidelity to Rome. From the capital they received their commands, but their glances towards the Eagle, as well as their political outlook upon the general condition of the world, appeared to the more strictly inclined as un-Jewish and devoid of character.[2]

But not only in the upper ranks of the nation had a privileged class secluded itself; even in the life of the people had movements manifested themselves which demanded seclusion for distinct party ends.

The temper of the population after their hardly-won victory over the Syrians, we learn from the numerous Maccabean psalms. In grateful wonder did they look back upon the deeds which Jehovah had done in the sacred war, and now sought, after the temple had been purified and the theocracy established once more, to observe all the demands of the law with earnest strictness. Had not the most heroic deeds during the war been accomplished in observing the Sabbath? Had not the most terrible martyrdom been endured in obedience to the commands about unclean food? The more energetically, therefore, was all their zeal now directed to these externalities, and that piety formed, the serious tendency of which to triviality and externality we have already observed in the schools. What during the war had been great, became in the daily life tormenting; for in actual conflict honour is attached to attention to externals, while in peace a similar estimation of their importance is simply ridiculous. Moreover, also, the measure of the

[1] Antiq. xv. 9, 3.

[2] Life of Jos. 5; Bell. ii. 17, 3. How carefully the events of the world, even in the West, Gaul and Spain not excepted, were observed in the upper classes in Jerusalem, we learn from 1 Maccab. viii. 1—17.

demands which the schools laid upon the people, proved to be incapable of being fulfilled by the masses. The more the attempt was made to direct their attention to commerce and trade, the more apparent did it become that the whole compass of these laws of purification, the Sabbath, and food, could not be properly maintained in the life of the toiling citizen, especially in the case of a people which lay wedged in among the Gentiles on the war-path of the nations. The conflict with the ancient hereditary enemy had certainly been an efficient school of faithfulness to the law, but in time the glowing zeal of the multitude cooled, and only a minority continued to satisfy the law according to the lofty standard of the last years. These leaders were without doubt the men whose pious enthusiasm had won the victory, and that now, mustered around the schools, endeavoured to make their knowledge of the law the practice of their lives. The more earnestly they undertook this, the more inevitably did they see themselves compelled to withdraw from the polluting contact of those who, according to their conception, never rose above the condition of uncleanness. Thus these pious ones of stricter observance obtained the name of Perushim, Separatists, PHARISEES. But however much these stricter elements prided themselves upon being the true Israel in the theocracy, yet the actual power lay in other hands. For these same leading families, whose equivocal position during the war had been such an offence to the pious, now, after the war, remained—on account of their priestly blood, their ancient sacred names, and on account of the law—still the first in rank of that very theocracy which they had themselves trodden under foot. The magic of their ancient names had not even yet lost its power, and the men of the people who had won the victory saw its fruits taken out of their very mouths. Thus the strictly-minded and fanatical democratic leaders of the synagogue, and the indifferent, fashionable nobility of the temple, stood opposed hostilely to each other. What had been originally only a difference of temperament, was now become an occasion for the formation of

parties, since the accomplishment of the Pharisees' ideal could only proceed from the chiefs of the theocracy, the Sadducees. Thus arose that division between the heads of the temple and the speakers of the schools, which, as the opposition of Sadducees and Pharisees, continued during the last centuries of the Jewish state.

In opposition to the accumulating pretensions of the Pharisaic Scribes, the Sadducees confined themselves[1] to the written law, since they were conscious of no inclination to be taught by the Rabbis of the village synagogues what was theocratic. They were, indeed, the incumbents of the chief temple offices, and their names extended back to the times of Solomon's temple; they needed not now first to learn what was law in Israel, and felt no call to follow the far-fetched discoveries of the democracy. Thus their very position entailed upon them the emphasizing of the anciently authenticated written law in opposition to the precepts of the teachers.

It was not the dishonourable manipulation of a rationalism reducing itself to a minimum, but the conservative tendency of "the first in rank," which emphasized the legal position in opposition to the exalted extravagances of the schools. The less, therefore, is the opposition between Pharisees and Sadducees to be reduced to an abstract alternative of belief and unbelief. Rather was it that each side prided itself upon its orthodoxy.[2] It was impossible for the Sadducees, for example, to have held the intention of overthrowing the theocracy upon which their position, their rank, their very existence was founded. That they were not of this opinion is shown at once by the theological controversies between the two parties, the remains of which have been preserved in the Mishnah. In these controversies the Sadducees upheld throughout the letter of the canon, the advantage of the temple, the glory of the priesthood: the Pharisees, on the other hand, maintained the authority of the Rabbinical traditions, the interests of the people, the indepen-

[1] Antiq. xiii. 10, 6, xviii. 1, 4.

[2] Antiq. xvii. 2, 4, xviii. 1, 4.

dence of the sacred ceremonies of the person of the priest, as something fixed and independent of the mediation of certain families.

The Sadducean temple nobility appeared conservative in comparison with the Pharisees, in the first place, in their stanch retention of the letter of the laws of punishment, which the Pharisees loved to interpret in correspondence with the milder spirit of the times.

When, for example, the Pharisees interpreted the precept of Deuteronomy xix. 21, "An eye for an eye, and tooth for tooth," symbolically, and allowed a money compensation to be paid for an atonement, the Sadducees, on the other hand, insisted upon the verbal fulfilment of this law. In accordance with the precept of Deuteronomy xxv. 9, the Sadducees demanded that the widow should in the elders' presence really spit in the face of the brother-in-law who refused her the leviratical marriage, while the Pharisees were content with her spitting before him.[1] In consideration for the necessities of ordinary life, the Pharisees, farther, interpreted the passage, Leviticus vii. 24, so that the parts of a beast which had "died of itself or was torn with beasts" might at least be made use of; while the Sadducees attached the penalty of uncleanness to so lax a practice. False witnesses were condemned by the priestly-minded to death, even when their evidence had inflicted no injury upon the accused, according to the strict letter of the law; but inasmuch as, according to the same letter, two witnesses were always necessary for the conviction of the accused, many did not shrink even from the Rabbinical conclusion, that false witnesses might only be hanged in pairs.[2]

This adherence to the letter conferred upon the Sadducees the name in tradition of "condemners," and Josephus testifies of them that they were less merciful in their judgments than the

[1] Grätz, Geschichte der Juden, 2 Auflage, ii. 78; and for the contrast between the theology of the Pharisees and Sadducees, the detailed account of the Appendix, 455.

[2] Compare Grätz, as above, p. 459.

rest of the Jews.[1] The Pharisees, on the other hand, followed the mild principle of Jehoshua ben Perachia, "Judge every man in the scale of merit;"[2] or the humane maxim of Hillel, "Judge not thy friend until thou comest into his place."[3] Thus the accused blessed himself who saw opposite to him in the Sanhedrin the broad phylactery of the Pharisee, and not the white priestly garment of the Sadducee.

It may also be remembered, in passing, that Jesus and Paul too, although they had to deal with a mob incited, it is true, by the Pharisees, were yet condemned by Sadducean jûdges. James was emphatically *their* victim. The ordinary man, however, was well aware that this strict observance of the law by the priestly families who found only approbation from wealth and rank,[4] went hand in hand with the social interests of the temple nobility, for whom the continuance of things as they were was their one reason and the highest right.[5]

From similarly interested motives were the disputes concerning the arrangements of the temple conducted, in which the Sadducees took a strictly party position, seeking to preserve the pre-eminence of the sanctuary with special reference to their privileged position, while the Pharisees defended the interests of the people. Thus the temple nobility refused to supply the daily sacrifice from the temple revenues, endeavouring to charge it upon the individual temple visitors; the Pharisees, on the other hand, maintained that, since the daily sacrifice was offered on behalf of the entire people, it was, as a *general expenditure*, a charge for the temple revenues. This opinion, which was a disadvantage to the temple, but gave relief to the temple visitor, was adopted; so the Pharisees also effected, to the annoyance of the priests, that the food offerings which were placed beside the sacrifices of blood were to be burned with them, while the Sadducees desired to have bestowed the former upon the priests.[6]

The ritualistic disputes of both parties were so far analogous,

[1] Antiq. xx. 9, 1.
[2] Pirqe Aboth, i. 7; Antiq. xiii. 10, 6.
[3] Pirqe Aboth, ii. 5.
[4] Antiq. xiii. 10, 6, xviii. 1, 3.
[5] Antiq. xx. 9, 1.
[6] Grätz, Gesch. d. Jud. iii. 460.

that in them the endeavour of the Sadducees could always be recognized, of thrusting the personal element into the foreground, so that all should depend upon the purity of the persons who officiated, and thus, by means of their priestly functions, presenting themselves in a more brilliant position; whilst the Pharisees, in manifest dissatisfaction that these functions were in the hands of the aristocracy, sought to make their efficacy as independent as possible of the persons; so that they placed their sanctity in the purity, not of the priests, but of the vessels, and in the correctness of procedure. The Sadducees demanded, for example, that the red cow from which the ashes were made for preparing the water of atonement, was to be burned by priests who had previously purified themselves, according to the law, from every possible uncleanness.[1] The Pharisees, on the other hand, found in this only the aristocratic officiousness of the families who attempted to thrust their persons into the foreground even in this ceremony, and they sought, therefore, to make the high-priest unclean by contact with the ashes when preparing the water. Nay, they even went so far as to deny the efficacy of the water unless this took place. The greater was the weight, on the other hand, which they attached to the proper sequence and correctness of the ceremony; and they acted here with so much passion, that they raised a tumult in the temple when, at the feast of Tabernacles, the Sadducees omitted the procession with willow branches; or the high-priest, on the day of atonement, had placed the incense upon the coals before entering into the holy of holies.[2] It even happened to the King, Alexander Jannaus, that the people threw the citrons from the branches they were carrying in his face, at the feast of Tabernacles, when he began in his character as high-priest to pour the water of libation upon the ground instead of upon the altar, in order to show his contempt for the custom introduced by the Pharisees.[3]

[1] Parah, 3, 3; Jomah, 40 b. [2] Passages in Grätz, as before quoted.
[3] Antiq. xiii. 13, 5; compare Succa, 48 b, with Grätz, 3, 473 and 112.

The correctness of the several ceremonies was in the estimation of the Pharisees the first external consideration of religious worship, the second was the cleanness of the vessels used; consequently their labours in this direction often bordered upon the absurd, and they were for ever "washing cups and pots, brazen vessels and couches."[1] As most extreme in this relation appeared their demand that all the utensils of the temple ought to be purified together at the conclusion of every feast, because it was possible for an unclean person to have touched them, so that the Sadducees cried out in mockery to a priest who was subjecting even the golden candlestick to a lustration after a feast, "Lo! the Pharisees will at last cleanse the sun for us!"[2]

An indirect confirmation of the Rabbinical assertion that the Pharisees attached the sacredness pre-eminently to the vessels, candlesticks and censers instead of to the temple and priests, can be found in the speech of Jesus, in Matthew xxiii. 16, according to which they attached a higher value to the oath "by the gold of the temple," than to that by the temple itself. "Woe unto you, blind guides, which say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor. Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold?" And in like manner the Pharisaic doctrine, that the vessels must be clean and not the men, is rebuked in the words farther on, which certainly have a deeper meaning in view: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also."[3]

Another exaggeration of the laws of external cleanness was the Pharisees' demand that the Scriptures were only to be written upon parchment made from clean beasts, because it says in the Scripture, "Let the word of God be ever in thy mouth,"

[1] Mark vii. 4. [2] In Grätz, iii. 461. [3] Matt. xxiii. 25.

and therefore must be on such material as might be taken into the mouth.[1] Nevertheless, according to the doctrine of the Pharisees, the contact with the sacred Scriptures made one unclean. "We complain of you Pharisees," said the Sadducees to Jochanan ben Sakkhai, "that you maintain that the holy Scriptures defile the hands, and that the writings of Homer do not." "Do not you also maintain," was Jochanan's question in reply, "that the bones of an ass are clean, but the bones of Hyrcanus, the great high-priest, unclean?" "Certainly," replied the Sadducees, "in order that no one may make spoons out of the bones of Hyrcanus, but with the bones of an ass every one may do what he will." "Therefore," was the Rabbi's answer, "do the Scriptures also make a person unclean, in order that no one may meddle with them without a reason; with the books of Homer, however, every one may do what he pleases."[2]

Another apple of discord between the two parties was the fixing of the new moon, which had formerly been one of the privileges of the Sanhedrin, i. e. of the aristocracy, but which the Rabbis had now usurped. The endeavour was made, when the families exerted themselves, to lead the learned astray by means of false witnesses, in order to prove their incapacity for governing.[3] Therefore does the priestly-minded book of Jubilees denounce the people who desire to fix the feasts "according to their view and according to their errors." "There are people," says the writer, "who make observations of the moon, but they miscalculate its periods, and every year is made ten days wrong, and consequently in future times the years will be disarranged, and a wrong day made the day of testimony, and a wrong day the feast-day, and there will be errors in the months and Sabbaths and feasts and years of Jubilee."

Thus through all these disputes there ran the jealousy which usually prevails between men of the schools and men of office. But there lay at the bottom the deeper opposition of their views

[1] Schabb. 108 a. [2] Passages in Grätz, as before.

[3] Ibid. Compare, in addition, Jubil. 6, G. Jahrbuch, 1849, p. 246.

of life, which first gave to this contest between the two tendencies a really historical importance.

The work of the Pharisees for the most thorough completion of the theocracy, had a still broader and deeper principle, and an ideal goal, which was their *Promise.* In the time of distress, when the faithful had allied themselves together for the first time, the book of Daniel had exhibited to the followers of the law as the reward which would be bestowed upon those who remained constant, the future of the kingdom of God promised by the prophets. "And at that time Thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turned the many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."[1] Even more exactly was the Messianic time described there: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousand ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the tribunal was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then . . . . and saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like a son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages should serve him."[2] These promises, revealed by Daniel, as seen in his visions of the night or shown to him by the angels, had formerly given the Chasidim courage to take up the contest with Antiochus, and had been handed down to their posterity as a precious legacy, as an instruction upon a yet unfulfilled promise of Jehovah. And thus the truth

[1] Daniel xii. 1, 2, 3. [2] Daniel vii. 9, 10, 13, 14.

as well as the *righteousness* of Jehovah demanded that he should fulfil his word when the people on their side executed their obligations to the law. "*Recompense*" had been, even from the time of Job, the demand of the individual as well as of the people. As Hillel saw a human skull floating upon the water, he exclaimed, "Because thou hast drowned others, they drowned thee; and in the end, they that have drowned thee shall be drowned."[1] In a similar manner did he think, however, of recompense at the last day. "He who has gotten to himself words of Thorah, has gotten to himself the life of the world to come."[2] The whole of the Pharisees' zeal for the law was consequently a service for this reward, with all the restlessness, the exaggeration, the emulation, and the moral impurity which is the result of service for reward. Undisturbed in their possessions, with no extraordinary desires for a universal catastrophe which should replace a quite endurable condition of things by an unknown new one, did the Sadducees stand opposed to this eschatology. Their fathers had not trusted in that promise, and the sons therefore mocked at it. They not only denied the practical consequences of these promises, by opposing the simple law to these overstrained Pharisaic demands on life; they denied the hope itself out of which the Pharisaic zeal had sprung. "The doctrine of the Sadducees," says Josephus, "teaches that the soul dies with the body, and they recognize no other precepts than those of the law."[3] For its own sake ought the good to be done, not from expectation of a reward either in the Messianic kingdom or at the resurrection of the dead, and therefore did they take as their motto the speech of Antigonus of Soko: "Be not as slaves that minister to the Lord with a view to receive recompense; but be as slaves that minister to the Lord without a view to receive recompense; and let the fear of heaven be upon you."[4] They scoffingly declared

[1] Pirqe Aboth, ii. 7.

[2] Pirqe Aboth, ii. 8, 15; compare Keim's Jesus of Nazara, Vol. i. p. 338.

[3] Antiq. xviii. 1, 4.

[4] Pirqe Aboth, i. 3; compare Ab. R. Nathan, cap. 5, where it says of the scholars of Antigonus that they had not thus spoken if they had believed there was another world and resuscitation of the dead. Herzfeld, iii. 382.

even that the Pharisees themselves had the tradition that they tormented themselves in this world, and in the next derived no benefit from it.[1] Absurd examples were framed by them of the complications which the resurrection of the dead must involve.[2]

The more zealously did the Pharisees devote themselves to this their favourite dogma. The coming kingdom of God was for them the end generally of the theocratic life, and as Daniel had revealed the future by means of angels and visions of the night, so they too maintained that they were sure of that future from their own intercourse with God and the hosts of heaven.[3] "On account of their intercourse with God," says Josephus,[4] "it is believed that they have been entrusted with a foreknowledge of the future." They boasted of the Divine favour on account of their strict observance of the law, and even issued to the credulous assignments of an immediate recompense in the Messianic kingdom. Josephus, even, ascribed to himself "the gift of recognizing the secret meaning of the Divine voice in dreams, and interpreting it," and of foreseeing the future;[5] whilst intercourse with angels was more the privilege of those who had made themselves worthy by strict asceticism and the thorough purification of their minds.[6] In this sense is it undoubtedly that the Acts of the Apostles informs us, "The Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both."[7] Both were connected together, inasmuch as the resurrection to judgment was attested for the Pharisees, as it was formerly for Daniel, by the spirits of divination, the manifestations of angels, and all the superabundance of the dreams in which the Apocalypses of this period painted the last judgment and the resurrection of the dead. The Sadducees, again, were able to make the more decided opposition to this fanaticism, since the more ancient Hebrewism knew nothing of a resurrection of the dead, and the belief in a perpetual inter-

[1] Grätz, iii. 76. [2] Matt. xxii. 23. [3] Antiq. x. 11, 7.
[4] Antiq. xvii. 2, 4. [5] Bell. iii. 8, 3; Vita, 42. [6] Bell. ii. 8, 12.
[7] Acts xxiii. 8; Antiq. xviii. 1, 3.

course of God with each individual subject, was from the standpoint of Jewish theism at least of very doubtful orthodoxy. Thus that warm-blooded oriental mysticism, with all its fantastic expectations, as we find them in the books of Enoch and Ezra, and the theology of the Old Testament, which saw the lot of man fulfilled in this world, stood opposed to each other. Who knoweth the spirit of man, whether it goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast, whether it goeth downward to the earth? . . . The conclusion of the whole matter is—"Fear God and keep his commandments," the Sadducees might have said, with the Preacher of old.

But as a consequence the Sadducees were compelled to maintain that the fulfilment of the promises of the prophets was no longer to be expected. This they confirmed upon the peculiar theory that the free-will of man must be surrendered, if the course of history were already determined as to the future.[1]

Thus between Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, arose that question of human free-will and its limitations through God's foresight which Josephus has described from such a purely Greek point of view that it is nearly unintelligible.[2] The Essenes most consistently, therefore, denied human free-will, and referred all that happened to the action of God. Translated from the Hellenistic language of Josephus into Hebrew, their doctrine had much the same purport as that formulated by the most ingenious scholar of Phariseeism, that God causes both intention and completion, forming some as vessels for honour and others for dishonour, and that beside His omnipotence there is no place for human independence. The Pharisees themselves remained standing half-way, in that they supposed a synergism. "But the Sadducees," says Josephus,[3] "dispute the doctrine of

[1] According to Antiq. x. 11, 7.

[2] Antiq. xviii. 1, 3, 4, xiii. 5, 9; Bell. ii. 8, 14. Compare for these passages my essay in the Protestantische Kirchenzeitung, 1862, No. 44. Of destiny and fate (εἱμαρμένη, τὸ χρεών, ἡ τυχη), as Josephus describes them, it is as impossible to speak on Jewish ground as of the doctrine of transmigration of souls, for which he sets forth the doctrine of the resurrection. Bell. ii. 8, 14.

[3] Antiq. xiii. 5, 9.

Fate completely, and maintain that there is neither any such thing, nor is human happiness according to its determination, but that everything is in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly." Of Fate, indeed, it is hardly proper to speak in connection with the Pharisees and Essenes. It was really rather the question of predestination which had a meaning within the limits of Jewish theism. Upon Fate certainly the Rabbis did not speculate. Human free-will and its limitations through God was the object of their observations; and the Epistle to the Romans is certainly much more nearly related to these speculations than the Stoic philosophies to which Josephus compares them.

Here, also, did the Sadducees take their stand upon the ground of the Old Testament, in opposition to the mystic doctrine of predestination. They said, indeed, with Jesus the son of Sirach, God made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his own counsel: "If thou wilt, thou canst keep the commandments, and perform acceptable faithfulness. He hath set fire and water before thee; thou canst stretch forth thy hand to which thou wilt. Before man is life and death; and which he liketh shall be given him. . . . . He hath commanded no man to do wickedly, neither hath he given any man license to sin."[1] This was a standpoint which well commended itself to practical politicians, and to the clear comprehension of an aristocracy which directed its attention to life, although Pharisees[2] and Essenes[3] zealously contended against it. The book of Enoch especially denounces those "sinners" who deny a Providence, an upper world of angels and spirits, a resurrection, and a Messianic kingdom.[4] "Oh that my eyes were water-spouts in order to weep over you!" does he exclaim concerning them, "and my tears were as a water-spout, in order that I might obtain rest from the sorrow of my heart!"

[1] Ecclesiasticus xv. 14—20.

[2] Antiq. x. 11, 7.

[3] Das Buch Henoch, 98, 6, 100, 10, 104, 7.

[4] Henoch, Dillman's edition, p. liv.

The opinion of the people also was universally opposed to them.[1] Certainly they had the written law upon their side, and made fewer claims upon the life of the people; but the spirit of the times was against them. That which had been defended by the blood of the Maccabees, the ordinary man would never allow to be called uncanonical. He would rather bend beneath the countless precepts of the Pharisees—for the people like a religion which does not make it too easy for them —when the reward in view was so equivalent as it was in this case; and as the legal practice of the Pharisees was mild, and their intercourse with the people had somewhat of the flattery of the demagogue, making the individual soul his care; as they themselves, too, presented at every moment and in every movement the complicities of the entire precepts of the law; as the traces of severe asceticism and multifold observances were manifest in their solemn manner—the ordinary man treated the Pharisee with the reverence which the Hindoo pays to the Brahmin, "beaming with penitential power;" while the lordly Sadducaic priesthood, harsh and insisting upon the meaner elements of the law, was thoroughly hated by the people.[2]

In fact, their isolation from the life of the people had not tended to increase the amiability of the aristocracy, and the Talmud contains a five-fold lamentation over the dominant Sadducean families of this period, the justice of which, from the accounts of Josephus, is not to be doubted.[3] So much the brighter beamed the glory of the Pharisees, whose signal was the beautiful words of Hillel, "Separate thyself not from the congregation," and who dedicated their whole life to the people.[4] "Let thy house be opened wide, and let the needy be thy household," says a predecessor of Hillel;[5] and even the strict Shammai thus expressed himself: "Say little, do much, and receive every man with a pleasant expression of countenance."[6]

[1] Antiq. xiii. 10, 6, xviii. 1, 4; Bell. ii. 8, 14.
[2] Antiq. xiii 10, 6, xvii. 2, 4, xviii. 1, 3, 4; Bell. ii. 8, 14.
[3] See page 78.
[4] Pirqe Aboth, ii. 5; Antiq. xiii. 10, 6.
[5] Pirqe Aboth, i. 5; Jose ben Jochanan.
[6] Ibid. i. 16, see iii. 18.

To this must certainly be added, that the Pharisees shared and promoted the national hatred and religious prejudices against the Roman dominion, and opposed the Herods, whom the people thoroughly hated as sworn enemies; while the Sadducees, devoted adherents of the government of the time, disputed amongst themselves in family matters which were unintelligible to the ordinary man, and therefore to be condemned.[1] Certainly opposition was not wanting to the forced piety of the Pharisees, as, indeed, the people not seldom mock at the very thing which officially they reverence.[2] To the over-pious, ridiculous names were attached, and they were divided into classes, according to the nature of their exaggerations: there were the "heavy-footed"—those who were so exhausted by fasting, that they could not walk like other people; the "bleeding," who were running their heads against things, because they always walked with their eyes cast down; the "mortar-pharisees," who bent themselves till they resembled the handle of a mortar as they walked; the "hump-backed," who always hung the head; the "do-alls," who are ever on the watch how they can fulfil some law; the "painted," whose pious manners can be seen from a distance.[3] But in spite of these sharp eyes for the excrescences of the movement, the people were themselves at bottom like-minded with the Pharisees, and supported their teachers thoroughly. The two positions of the parties may thus be summed up. Their opposition was that, essentially, of a dominant, priestly, and magisterial class, and of a piously-inclined and inclining democratical party. The more the Pharisees fell into exaggerations of the religious precepts, into bizarre distortions of the Mosaic character; the more they carried the Sabbath laws into ridiculous extremes, and caricatured the fear of uncleanness; the more extravagantly they prided themselves upon divine inspirations

[1] Antiq. xviii. 1, 4, xiii. 10, 6; Bell. ii. 8, 14.

[2] Matt. vi. 2, 5, 16, ix. 11, 14, xii. 2, xxiii. 5, 15, 23; Luke v. 30, vi. 2, 7, xi. 39, xviii. 12; John ix. 16; Pirqe Aboth, i. 16; Antiq. xvii. 2, 4, xviii. 1, 3.

[3] Berach, 9 at the end; Sota, v. 7. The Babylonian Talmud; Sota, 22, 6; comp. Epiph. Hær. xi. 1.

and direct intercourse with the higher spirits; the more heated were their expectations of the approaching Messianic kingdom to which David and the prophets were to return; the more utterly foolish were their politics—embroiling themselves at the same time with the Idumæan house and the Roman dominion—into which they excited, urged, incited the people; the more cool, arrogant, lordly was the manner in which the propertied class and aristocracy excluded themselves from all these movements; the more tenaciously did they cling to their opposition to all novelties; the more decisively did they restrict themselves to the written law, which knew nothing of all these apocalyptic phantasies, and taught neither angel nor resurrection.

This contest between the Pharisees and Sadducees became finally the same as that which exists among all other nations. Never yet, in the contest between democracy and aristocracy, has the aristocracy kept the field victor. So in the course of this period we shall find the popular party ever advancing farther. The Pharisees prevailed among the people; they led in the Sanhedrin; their influence extended into the circle even of the Herodian families; and finally they experienced the triumph of seeing all the more active-minded younger members of the aristocracy pass over to their side.[1] Whilst during the time of Herod their numbers were roughly estimated at six thousand,[2] at the termination of Jewish history they included all those learned in the law.

"The Pharisees," says the historian who had himself fought in all the final battles of Jewish political life, "have such an influence over the people, that whatsoever is done about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, is performed according to their direction: the communities gave them such an excellent testimony because convinced that they seek both in word and deed only that which is most honourable. The Sadducees are fewer in number; they belong certainly to the highest ranks, but they are able to do nothing important. Whenever they come into

[1] Vita, Jos. 2, 38. [2] Antiq. xvii. 2, 4.

office they must conform to the opinions of the Pharisees, even against their will and on compulsion, because the people would not otherwise endure them."[1]

Thus had the men of office fallen a sacrifice to the leaders of their party. The eloquence of the synagogue had won the victory over the splendour of the temple, but only, indeed, in order to dig a pit for the state in which the temple and school were together buried.

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2. The Essenes.

The same aspirations after the realization of the law which made the Pharisees take such an active part in public life in order to urge, spur on and incite the people, drove the Essenes into solitude, in order that they might carry out, at least in their own persons, that ideal of Jewish purity for which the people as a whole seemed yet unripe. As there were individuals who as Nazarites attempted to attain the perfection of theocratic purity—and at this time the Nazarite was to be seen almost daily—so do we find in the Essenes whole communities who observed essentially all the precepts of the Old Testament Nazarite. They, too, as the Pharisees, were an after-shoot of the Chasidim's zeal for the law during the war of freedom; but in order to protect the sanctity of their purifications, they retired altogether from public life. For them the Pharisees were far from being careful enough, as the ascetic in the Talmud incidentally accuses the Pharisees of levity.[2] The demands of legal purity have this peculiar feature, that no one individual can observe them for himself so long as he is liable to the polluting contact of others: they can be attained only by a *united* effort, or else in absolute *solitude*. At first such separation must have been the intention of the Pharisees, but in course of development they merited their name of "separatists" ever less and less, since they

[1] Antiq. xviii. 1, 3, 4.

[2] Compare Grätz, iii. 468.

persistently sought out the multitude in order to work upon them, and encompassed land and sea in order to make one proselyte; and exhibited their piety at the corners of the streets and in all public places. By these means had that ideal of purity been renounced that it had been originally intended should be attained. So that it becomes evident that stricter circles would separate themselves from the connections of national life especially, in order to attempt in colonies of their own that highest ideal of the time, the realization of which was impossible in all the confusion and bustle of the city;[1] whilst others would strive, single-handed, after the same goal as hermits in the desert.

The first beginnings of these settlements have escaped all historical records; but whoever wandered through the district between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, that stony table-land which, traversed by narrow ravines often shady and green as a meadow, descends to the salt lake, passed a succession of rich Essene colonies. Their manner, measured according to the law and melancholy, and their life strictly regulated according to the constraint of all the comprehensive ordinances, could easily impress a stranger with the belief that here a number of those who are weary of life are preparing themselves, not for the kingdom of God, but for death.

In this manner has Pliny spoken of them; but the "vitæ pœnitentia" of which he speaks was not the cause of this separation, but a yearning after purity, which certainly in this connection cannot be in any way explained from Mosaism itself, but must be traced back to those notions which the Jews had become acquainted with in the course of the Persian and Greek times—that matter was impure and sinful, the kingdom of evil spirits, whilst all light and all clearness was placed above in the kingdom of the Godhead; the result being morbid asceticism and

[1] κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦσι, τὰς πόλεις ἐκτρεπόμενοι διὰ τὰς τῶν πολιτευομένων χειροήθεις ἀνομίας. Philo, Quod omn. pr. l. Frankfurt, Ausgabe, 876. Bellun, ii. 8, 4, appears to exclude towns peculiar to the order, it is true; but Philo and Pliny state the contrary, as well as the description of Josephus, § 7—9.

numerous ways of disembodiment, abstinence, and the strict practices which Daniel, Enoch, Ezra, and the other books of this period recommend, and that were not founded, as among the Pharisees, exclusively upon Mosaic commands, but proceeded from a horror of matter and its demons, who offer all these pleasures, attractions, allurements to poor mortals, only in order to involve them more closely in the chains of the sensual world. To loosen the soul from this connection with the sensual world, and unfasten one bond after another by which it is chained to the body; to break the power of the sensual life by all the means of bodily and spiritual diet, in order that the soul may be free; this was the task which claimed the whole of life, and for which the Essene lived every day of his existence. In this endeavour the Essenes certainly anticipated, almost perfectly, the later manifestations of Christian asceticism; as, on the other hand, they showed points of contact with the dualistic systems of religion, not only of Parseeism but also of Alexandrian philosophy of religion. That theory of the universe which we afterwards meet with in the West as Neopythagorism, is here to be faintly traced in its general outlines. The opposition of a Right and Left; a kingdom of a good God and of wicked Spirits; a Fate which governs all things; a soul woven of the purest ether of the upper world, and fallen into the slime of the lower; Light, principle of the Good, and daily reverently greeted with morning hymns at sunrise; the strict precautions that its sacred beams should not fall upon anything unclean;—these are all points which incorporated them with their neighbours in that dualistic theory of the universe which at that time governed the world; although Philo and Josephus were wrong in describing oriental notions by the precise terms of Greek philosophy of their own time.

The upper valley of Engedi, where Pliny places the majority of the Essene settlements, was admirably adapted for the monkish life which the Essenes desired. From the wilderness of Judæa

there is, some nine miles north of Masada, a path which leads zigzag over fragments of rock and boulder some 1500 feet down to an abundant spring which, concealed under bushy banks, seeks its way to the Dead Sea. The place was called Engedi, "fountain of the wild goats," probably because the goats in climbing first made this path discovered. A paradisiacal vegetation supports the inhabitants of this deeply-hidden oasis, almost without toil.[1] In the upper part of the ravine and the rocky valleys running parallel to it, are the Essene settlements to be found.[2] Each of them had its own convent, where baths with cold flowing water were provided,[3] a pretty large refectory, which held all the brethren,[4] and a peculiar synagogue, where they celebrated the Sabbath in accordance with their own ritual. Near these colonies there dwelt separate hermits by lonely mountain springs, in order that they might bathe day and night yet more strictly than did the brethren, limiting their food to the herbs which grew wild, and yet frequently surrounded by salvation-seeking disciples who embraced their strict practices.[6] In the separate towns of Judæa also, communities of Essenes were to be found, who lived there in accordance with the same rites, able and bound to offer to wandering brethren an undefiled resting-place.[7] A gate of the Essenes is incidentally mentioned in Jerusalem itself.[8] It seems, therefore, that before the first Christian century—from which our accounts proceed—the Essenes had not yet entirely withdrawn themselves from the life of the people, and consequently at that time members of their order were yet remaining in many Jewish towns.[9] The total number of them in Palestine was estimated at 4000.[10] They had

[1] Furrer, Wandergeschichte, 158. [2] Pliny, v. 17, 4.

[3] Bell. ii. 8, 5; Philo, Q. o. p. lib. 877, 878, Frankf. Ausg.

[4] Ibid. ὁμωφοριον, ὁμοδιαίτιον, ὁμοτράπεζον. [5] Philo, l. c.

[6] Jos. Vit. 2. [7] Bell. ii. 8, 4. [8] Bell. v. 4, 2.

[9] Bell. ii. 8, 4, v. 4, 2. Compare, for the older Essenes, Bell. i. 3, 5, ii. 7, 3; Antiq. xiii. 11, 2, xv. 10, 4, 5.

[10] Antiq. xviii. 1, 5; Philo, Q. o. p. lib. Frankf. Ausg. 876.

their presidents (Epimeletai, Epitropoi), as well as guardians for strangers, and were especially strictly organized.[1]

There can be no doubt whatever but that these associations were founded in the first place for the strictest possible observance of the Mosaic law. According to Philo, their whole endeavour was exclusively directed to the ethical part of philosophy, that is to the law,[2] and moreover they sought to find in the Mosaic law everything that was necessary to properly restore body and soul.[3] They read the law not only upon the Sabbath, but also day and night, for all other philosophy was forbidden them.[4] To blaspheme the name of the great Lawgiver was to them the greatest crime, punishable with death;[5] and to deliver up their books to strangers was impossible for them, even at the risk of the halter and torture.[6] The Sabbath was more strictly observed among them than elsewhere in Judæa. They did not venture on this day to kindle a fire, to remove any vessel out of its place, but prepared all their food the day before.[7] The other commands of the law they also fulfilled with strictest exactitude. As the law said, "Thou shalt not kill," so their order forbade their taking any part in war, or anything belonging to it; that is, the manufacture of darts, arrows, javelins, swords, or any other weapon.[8] Even the killing of beasts seemed to them to be dangerous, and therefore they lived upon vegetable food alone. At a later period, we are informed, because of the commandment not to make any likeness of anything upon earth or anything over the earth, they refused to handle any figured coins, or go through any gate which was adorned with images.[9] Thus we see that all the commandments of Judaism were carried by them to their extreme consequences. Yet the fulfilment of these precepts had by no means made it necessary for them to withdraw from the districts of Judæa and conceal themselves in the wilderness of

[1] Bell. ii. 8, 3—9, and passages as before in Antiq.
[2] Philo, Q. o. p. lib. Frankf. Ausg. 877; Mangey, ii. 458.
[3] Bell. ii. 8, 6.
[4] Philo, as before.
[5] Bell. ii. 8, 9.
[6] Bell. ii. 8, 6.
[7] Bell. ii. 8, 9.
[8] Philo, as before.
[9] Philosoph. 9, 26.

Judæa. To this they were first driven by their morbid desire for purity, which saw their laboriously-won purity imperilled every moment, in the throng of the public life, by some accident. Just as priests on the evening before their officiating, or Nazarites when their days were accomplished, thought with alarm of the possibility of some accidental defilement, so the Essene had made this desire for purity the first object of his life. That this was the motive for their separation, follows from their whole method of procedure. The novice was first allowed access to the general baths only after a whole year's previous purification and preparation. Even then he was excluded from the sacred meal for two years more; yet he received "pure water for sanctification," and was allowed to attend divine worship. Formally received into the order, he might then only eat food which had been prepared by the Essenes;[1] and members of the order who had been expelled, preferred dying of hunger to partaking of the food of another Jew.[2] Even Roman[3] torture, with all its torments, could not compel captive Essenes to do so.

The most essential feature in their social life was certainly the common meal. The general feasts at the Passover and the dining-clubs of the priesthood had already been imitated by the Pharisees in their common love-feasts. There, too, the separation of parties and ranks played an important part, for the vessels and appliances of the one society had to be purified for another.[4] Such a common meal became, as did afterwards the love-feast of the Christians, a religious act in honour of God, introduced and concluded by a blessing and offering of thanks. The food, moreover, was even regarded as a sacrificial offering, since every brother voluntarily contributed to it. This kind of sacred meal the Essenes declared to be the only one worthy of Israel, and therefore they held it daily. Before the meal the brethren of the order bathed together, in order that none of them might enter the refectory unclean. They sat down to table clad for a festival.

[1] Bell. ii. 8, 8. [2] Bell. ii. 8, 10. [3] Ibid.

[4] Lipsius, article on the Essenes in Dr. Schenkel's Bibellexikon, Vol. ii. p. 188.

The refectory itself was deemed as sacred as a temple, and remained always closed against unconsecrated persons. The food was touched by no one until it had been consecrated by the prayer of the priest.[1]

Thus the whole life of the Essene was an escape from defilement. Not only when a stranger, but even when a novice of his own order touched him, had he to wash himself. The anointing-oil which the other Jews regarded as an adornment, "that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard," made the Essene unclean and was removed by washing. They also avoided wine and flesh, partly from their anxiety for purity, partly because they accepted, as a pattern for the entire life, the strictness of the Nazarite, of the officiating priest, or of the ancient Rechabites of the days of Jeremiah. For it seemed worthy of the society to remain behind none in sanctity, and to make fasting-fare their permanent sustenance. This explains, also, why the Essenes never took part in the temple service, although they used to send gifts to it; for the presentation of a sacrificial offering included also participation in the sacrificial feast. In a similar manner the occasional withdrawal of the priests from conjugal life was imitated by them. In the strictest colonies no women at all were tolerated, because they, from their periodic uncleanness, could put the purity of the entire community in question. When marriage was allowed, the woman was subjected to still stricter rules of lustration than the husband.[2] In consequence they should have entirely given up marriage, for, in the words of John the Baptist, "God was able of the stones to raise up children;"[3] although, according to the explicit account of Josephus, they avoided this consequence. They observed great caution when they spit, in order that the spittle might not defile any one, or fall upon the right side. In like manner the natural excretions of the body were an object of attention, as they permitted them to be removed only in accordance with the precept of the law, Deuteronomy xxiii. 12: "Thou shalt have a place

[1] Bell. ii. 8, 5. [2] Bell. ii. 8, 15. [3] Matt. iii. 9.

also without the camp, whither thou shalt go forth abroad: and thou shalt have a paddle amongst thy weapons: and it shalt be, when thou wilt ease thyself abroad, thou shalt dig therewith, and shalt turn back and cover that which cometh from thee. For Jehovah thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee; therefore shall thy camp be holy: that he see no shameful thing in thee, and turn away from thee." That which had been enjoined in this passage as, in the meaning of the theocratic lawgiver, belonging to the precepts of cleanliness, and had been put therefore in the point of view of a religious duty, was understood by the Essenes as one of the fundamental conditions of theocratic purity in every community, without which it remained an unclean place. Therefore they placed so great a value on its fulfilment, that the novice at the same time that he received his bathing garment received also a paddle, in order that he might carry out the words of the commandment. On the Sabbath, however, nature might not in this respect claim its due, thus necessitating, indeed, a regulation of the diet on the previous day. A peculiar washing, however, always restored their purity if interrupted.[1]

With such claims upon the purity of the individual and locality, it was certainly only possible to live up to such convictions in settlements of their own, and we can understand, therefore, that such interpretations of the law led the Essenes into solitude, and that the life in these Essene villages must have been quite a peculiar one. Removed from all questionable handicrafts, they pursued more especially agriculture, and at times the keeping of bees.[2] Life in the colony began before sunrise with psalms and hymns. Prayer and bathing followed. Then they betook themselves to hard work. At eleven o'clock (the fifth hour) the scattered labourers were again collected for a common

[1] Bell. ii. 8, 9.

[2] Antiq. xviii. 1, 5; Philo, Frankf. Ausg. 877; Mangold, ii. p. 457, and Apol. pro Jud. ii. 633.

in cold water. The consecrated garments of the order were put on, in order that they might together partake of the which was accompanied by liturgical solemnities and rs, and consisted only of bread and one vegetable. Then arments were silently laid aside, and the mid-day work enced. A similar meal followed in the evening, and divine e closed the day's proceedings, in order that the soul, with pure notions, might slumber undisturbed, and the ies of the corporeal life hitherto kept in check again break in dreams. Thus one day after the other glided away as ship of God, and the whole appearance of the members of rder corresponded to this liturgical method of life; for it ncompassed by a certain solemnity which won, especially e elders of the order, the highest reverence of the multi- Still they did not mingle too frequently with the people, ived as much alone as possible "in company with their s."

e consequence of their manner of life was the community ods, since the order alone could provide the necessities of a form pure and allowable for use. But community of everywhere produces simple customs. An under-garment ut sleeves was their clothing in summer, a mantle of rough material the prophetic garment in winter. From the relations of the colonies to one another, they needed upon their journeys "neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in their purses;" for "the daily bread" they found at every brother's. Servants and slaves they knew not. The difference between bond and free appeared to them simply mischievous, in that their order recognized only one distinction, that between the clean and unclean. To the question, what were the results of this wonderful attention to ascetic abstinence and practice, Josephus gives this concise reply:

"Consecrated from childhood by many purifications, and most thoroughly acquainted with the sacred books and the discourses

[1] Philo, passage before quoted, and Apol. pro Jud. ii. p. 633.

of the prophets, they maintain they possess a deeper insight into the future, and in fact there is scarcely an instance where they have failed in their predictions."[1] It was this yearning after an immediate intercourse with the pure and holy majesty of the Divine Being, which is only allotted to sanctified and purified men —the desire to be lifted above the limitations of the finite, time, and knowledge, and to open the seals upon the future, which enabled them to endure this life so full of denials. We find that there were others who had made previous attempts to tread this path, in order to become favoured by divine visions and intercourse with the higher powers. Daniel, even, gives a similar account of his preparations for the revelations which had made such a deep impression in the Syrian wars: "I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled. And on the four-and-twentieth day, as I was by the side of the great river Hiddekel, then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz."[2] In exactly the same way does Ezra at a later period prepare himself for his visions: "But go into a field of flowers, where no house is builded, and eat only the flowers of the field: taste no flesh, drink no wine, but eat flowers only; and pray unto the Highest continually; then will I come and talk with thee."[3]

Although this asceticism opened the inner eye for the pure, yet that eye was immediately closed again for those who mingled with the material life. It was on this account that Enoch had his most important revelations while he was yet an uncontaminated youth. "Two visions had I before I took a wife: Before I took thy mother I saw an awful vision," says Enoch to his son Methuselah.[4] The thought of approaching nearer to the Godhead by means of strict usages which here found literary expression, at times also prevailing practically among the people—the

[1] Bell. ii. 8, 12.
[2] Daniel x. 3—5; compare also i. 12, 17.
[3] 2 Esdras ix. 24, 25.
[4] Das Buch Henoch, 83, 2, also 85, 3.

Pharisees especially boasting that their asceticism had, at least at moments, enabled them to break through the limits which divide eternal and temporal nature—had been the predominant idea of the Essene union ever since the belief had once risen that these practices, through which at first only the law should be fulfilled, offered such a reward for their prize. The belief was universal that to the worthy elders of the order, who their whole life long had devoted themselves to purity, the future was an open book.[1] The soul was no longer entangled in the sensual chains of the body, but hung connected with it only by a loose thread, so that it could roam away into that other world. Thus an Essene foretold to the brother of the first Aristobulus his sudden death.[2] Another announced to Herod, when a boy, that he would obtain the crown, and when the prediction was fulfilled, a long reign.[3] For belief in their gift of foresight found adherents even in the palace, so not seldom did they send to the Essene when a disagreeable dream troubled the spirits,[4] or the attainment of some end called to mind the envy of fate.[5] The Essenes certainly could not erect a horoscope for the case of each separate person, but as the "discourses of the prophets" were the foundation of their gaze into the future, they treated of the future history of *Israel*, but especially of the future of the *kingdom of God* promised by the prophets.[6] That this kingdom of God required for its accomplishment the conscientious fulfilment of the Mosaic law, was a doctrine which they shared with the Pharisees, and observed in their whole life. They were to deserve the kingdom of God, and bring it down from heaven by deeds pleasing to God; for the opinion of the time was, "Messiah remains hidden because of the sins of the people."[7] That the kingdom of God was to be

[1] So Philos. 9, 26: *ἀσκεῖται δε ἐν αὐτοις τὸ προφητεύειν καὶ προλέγειν τὰ ἐσόμενα.*

[2] Bell. i. 3, 5; Antiq. xiii. 11, 2. [3] Antiq. xv. 10, 5.

[4] Bell. ii. 7, 5. [5] Antiq. xv. 10, 5. [6] Bell. ii. 8, 12.

[7] Jonathan on Micah iv. 8, Sanh. f. 97: "If the Israelites repented, their Messiah would appear." Hieros. Taan. f. 64: "What hinders the arrival of Messiah? Conversion. Repent ye, come" (Isaiah xxi. 12). Rabbi Acha: "If Israel only repented for one day, the kingdom of David would immediately appear." Compare Keim, Jesus of Nazara, i. 392.

thus won, their experience had already given proof, for the time had already come with them when the men prophesied and the young men saw visions.

So we are not astonished when from the wilderness of Judæa the Baptist, living only upon locusts and honey, and clad in a mantle of camels' hair, appears and utters the promise, "The kingdom of God has drawn near." That the Essenes represented the kingdom of God in the most brilliant pictures of the prophets, we learn from Josephus, who describes the Essene kingdom of God certainly as a spot beyond the ocean, "which is oppressed neither with storms of rain nor snow, nor with intense heat, but soft cooling zephyr west winds always blow;" only that at the same time these countrymen of his appear as philosophers, "ὁμοδοξοῦντες πᾶσιν Ἕλλήνων."[1] We question whether the time when Jehovah will wipe away every tear, and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard, nor the voice of crying, when the age of the pious will be as the age of trees, and the wolf and the lamb shall feed together,[2] has been painted by the Essenes themselves in such Grecian colours; yet it is most probable that sensual descriptions of the Messianic kingdom was an essential part of their secret dectrines. For the rest, their accounts of the future of the kingdom of God differed little from that given above, and what Josephus tells of their books agrees in its outlines exactly with the Apocalyptic literature of this period. To their belief in a fixed and to some persons already revealed course of the future, does their dogma of human necessity mentioned by Josephus correspond. How was it possible for one who possessed a picture fixed even in its details of the future, as the author of the book of Enoch or the fourth book of Ezra (2 Esdras), to find room for human free-will? What influence could a free man exercise when the future was already determined, both as regards his people and himself? The course of history foreseen by the prophets, which undisturbed pursued its end, in spite of the good or evil will of those by whom it was

[1] Bell. ii. 8, 11. [2] Isaiah lxv. 17.

accomplished, is that Essene εἱμαρμένη which rules with an iron rod over individuals, and has already formed the channel for his affairs in which his life henceforth flows.[1] The word spoken by God stands fast. He has appointed the many to sin, and included whole nations among the unrighteous. "There can nothing happen either good or evil which the prophets have not prophesied," says Josephus.[2] Consequently all the freedom of the individual ceases; else how could Enoch have foretold that all the seventy shepherds which Israel should have should descend to hell?[3] How could he have declared, "I know that a condition of violence will prevail upon earth, and that once more unrighteousness will be repeated, and all deeds of unrighteousness and deeds of violence and of iniquity will be executed a second time upon the earth"?[4] If the multitude did not sin, where was the prophet? But if there was prophecy, where was freedom?[5] Thus this debate which Josephus thrusts so prominently in the foreground was one thoroughly deduced, and had the character, essentially, of an apology for modern prophecy.

The general experiences of the order, as well as these prophetic states of qualified individuals, had in the course of time brought together an amount of secret arts which had been written down in the books of the order. Josephus, although as a novice he had sworn with dreadful oaths never to betray these secrets, yet could not refrain from at least hinting wherein they consisted. To keep the names of the angels secret, was, according to him, the chief duty which the novice engaged to do. But the name, as we have before seen, was more than the distinctive appellation; it included the beings and attributes of the persons,

[1] Antiq. xiii. 5, 9, xviii. 1, 5.

[2] Antiq. x. 2, 2.

[3] Das Buch Henoch, 90, 24.

[4] 91, 4—7.

[5] This connection alone makes it possible to bring the belief in a so-called "Fate" within the Jewish theory of the universe. A communication from the debate with the Sadducees who denied this fate in Antiq. x. 11, 7, proves, however, that the whole discourse had simply this meaning. Thus, too, the Jewish Sibyl speaks of a Fate which proceeds from the predictions of prophecy, iii. 568.

and, in the case of the higher beings, the name gave the power by theurgic means of bringing them down from heaven.[1] Such lists of the angels as were contained in the books of the Essenes, are to be found in the book of Enoch, who learned them in his intercourse with the heavenly regions: Uriel, the angel of thunder and terror;[2] Raphael, the angel of the spirits of men; Raguel, who inflicts punishment on the world and the luminaries; Michael, who is the angel of the pious;[3] Saraqâel, who is over the spirits of the children of men that transgress; Gabriel, who is over the serpents, Paradise, and the cherubim."[4] In addition to this information, there was also a knowledge of the secret powers of stones and plants, the art of healing and its appliances,—a profession of the order which was guarded carefully, and increased according to means. Thus we must consider the books of the sect similar to the book of Enoch, which in its theories resembles those of the Essenes, in that it deduces the misfortunes of the world from the sins of the angels, who after their fall began "to commit sin against birds and beasts, and whatsoever moves, and fishes, and to devour their flesh among one another and to drink their blood."[5] From them also come voluptuousness[6] and enchantments.[7] They teach the means of magic arts, exorcisms, the making of swords, knives, shields, and breastplates; the use of looking-glasses, works of art, and luxuries; in short, everything which was forbidden also among the Essenes.

The possession of such sacred books, which it was not lawful to betray—the betrayal of the secrets of Heaven is with Enoch also the greatest of crimes—made their union, from the very nature of the thing, all the stricter, as time went on, towards

[1] See p. 128. [2] Thus Rev. xvi. 5, "The angel of the waters."

[3] Rev. xii. 7; Jude 9.

[4] Das Buch Henoch, 20, also 82, 8; Jubil. 2, Göttg. Jahrb. 1849, p. 234; Rev. xvi. 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, 17.

[5] Das Buch Henoch, 7, 4, 5. The same idea is found in Jubil. 14, Göttg. Jahrbuch, 1850, p. 1, and cap. 5, 1849, p. 242.

[6] Henoch, 98, 2. [7] 95, 4.

all external to them. The knowledge, too, that a community which entirely refrained from the use of flesh could not consistently offer sacrificial victims in the temple, only added to this feeling.[1] Representative consecrated gifts to the temple were intended to prove that they did not on this account hold the less firmly by the theocracy; but they could barely bridge over the chasm which had been formed between the community and the people by their separation from the temple life.[2] Moreover, the Essene meal itself obtained the solemn character of a daily sacrifice, when the bread was presented to Jehovah as a sacrifice.[3] From the very nature of the formation of all societies does it especially follow, that after the members have learned to consider themselves as forming a separated communion, their social life ever takes a more and more peculiar stamp, and the limits of the external to them more strictly drawn. Thus the disciple desirous of redemption who wished to enter the order had to take an awful oath before admittance, "to conceal nothing from the brethren, nor betray any of their doctrines to others, even at the hazard of their lives; to communicate the doctrines of the society to disciples not otherwise than they learned them from the elders; to guard the books of the order and the names of the angels as sacred."[4] This was the oath which one had to take on being admitted to the society in order never again to swear.

This oath had also an ethical intent which shows an inward application, and that the order believed that, in addition to the Levitical purity, a purified heart was also required by the law, for the novice had at the same time to swear "that he would honour God, practise righteousness towards men, do harm to no man, either of his own accord or at the command of others; that he would always hate the wicked and assist the righteous; that he would show fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority, for no one has authority which is not given by God.

[1] Philo, Frankf. Ausg. 876.
[2] Antiq. xviii. 1, 5.
[3] Antiq. xviii. 1, 5.
[4] Bell. ii. 8, 7.

Also to love the truth and expose liars; to keep his hands and his conscience pure from unlawful gains." This inward application is it which entitles Essenism to be called the dawn of Christianity; because, in spite of the fanatical exaggeration of external purity, there is here revealed more clearly than usual for the time, the consciousness that morality is beyond the whole amount of performances, especially *a disposition of the mind.* In spite of the peculiar material belief in the constitution of evil, yet this order excelled, through this consciousness, every tendency to genuine morality produced during the later centuries in the circle of Jewish life. A higher value is given to their otherwise rude asceticism by the fact that it was not merely a service for an external reward, as in the case of the Pharisees, but that it was an attempt to form a perfect equilibrium for the inward man, and to make the spiritual world more secure by putting a strong check upon the impulses of the sensual life, in order that the human heart should be in a condition to worthily prepare itself for receiving the Divine presence, and induce that perfect calm in the soul by which man is able to receive the gentle voice of divine revelations. The constitution of the inward man was for the first time declared to be the aim of religion, and this was certainly a grand thought. Whilst the Pharisees in their party contests scattered all the highest sanctities of the theocracy here and there—here, removed from the highways, was another life developed which bore purer fruit, because it rested upon an internal regeneration and the circumcision of the heart, and not upon the theocracy, temple, or politics. The similarity with Christianity lay, therefore, not in the institutions, but in the still and devout spirit which breathed through the society, the priest-like consecration and liturgical solemnity of life, the daily celebration of the Sabbath, which was also the ideal of the first Christian communities; this lends them a certain similarity with those who were, after them, the quiet ones in the land, although their dogmatical pre-suppositions are of an apparently diametrically opposite constitution.

On one side certainly has the evangelical tradition itself presented the two manifestations properly near to one another, in that Mark begins his Gospel with the words, "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God . . . was John baptizing in the wilderness." Thus the course of this history will take us once more into the wilderness of Judæa.

Fourth Division.

CONDITION AND FEELING OF THE TIMES

SINCE THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE ROMAN DOMINION.

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1. The Opposition of Nationalities.

The peculiar atmospheric tension which so powerfully affected Judaism in the New Testament times, and kept several races in expectation of an immediate end of the world, was occasioned, essentially, by the contact of two peoples whose individualities placed them at entirely opposite poles.

There occur in history few oppositions so peculiar as that between Rome and Jerusalem, an opposition that, from this time forth, for many centuries kept the spiritual world in movement. The strict adhesion to the logical consequences upon the one side, and the glow of religious enthusiasm upon the other, came into sharp collision in both nations, and as the contest—which at first passed for a mere frontier war—raged between them, it soon became manifest that between these two historical forces no peace was imaginable. After the victory of Pompeius had subjected Palestine also to the Roman eagle, Rome had attempted to assimilate the newly-formed vassal state gradually to herself. But here the Roman statecraft met with an opposition which it had not known either on the banks of the Rhine or the shores of the Nile. The history of the latter centuries had taught this people to see in its fathers' customs its one and all. From the

miseries of the exile, from the discipline of the prophets, from the deprivations of the Maccabean war for freedom, a people had come forth whose whole life had become incorporated with the law; a people whose women would rather suffer unheard-of martyrdom than eat unclean food, and whose men would rather present their necks to the weapons of the enemy defenceless, than touch the handle of the sword upon the Sabbath.[1] The whole of the public life was cast into these religious forms. Nothing was left to individual arbitrariness. From the year's commencement to its close, the festivals and customs, the days of work and those of rest, the prayers and hymns, the purifications and lustrations, the washing and even the food for each individual, were prescribed from hour to hour.[2] In the exact fulfilment of these laws did the individual find the religious consecration, the righteousness of the law, the Levitical purity without which he had no share in the blessings of the theocracy. Hence the painful anxiety after purity which prevailed through all classes. Even the common Jew avoided the defiling path of the Gentiles and the town of the Samaritan, the Pharisee avoided the common people, the Essene avoided all mankind, and even the members of his own society were not to him all clean.

By all these usages and customs it seems to the Jew that a consecration is diffused over the very land. Thus it is a religious feeling, not a patriotic, with which he regards his fatherland. The ground is to him sacred ground from the tithing of its produce; the towns are purified by the exclusion of everything unclean. Jerusalem is consecrated by the daily sacrifice, and above all these degrees of holiness rises the Temple-hill with its courts, and highest of all the Holy of Holies where God in person dwells.[3] From this mystic conception which the Jew had of the very ground of Palestine being consecrated, it was more than a national misfortune, it was a religious desecration, that the foot of the Gentile should tread upon the sacred ground of

[1] Jos. c. Apion, i. 8, ii. 30, 38. [2] Apion, i. 22, ii. 17—25.
[3] Chelim, i. 6, &c. In Jost. Geschichte d. Judenthum, i. 135.

Jerusalem, and practise his abominations in the consecrated circuit of the city. Yet it can easily be imagined what feelings moved him when he—who even in intercourse with his fellow-countrymen found such a multitude of purifications, washings, and lustrations necessary—found himself given over helplessly day by day to the polluting influence of the Gentile. For how many Romans would there be who, with the centurion of Capernaum, would have said to the teachers, "I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof, and I did not so much as think myself worthy to come unto thee"?[1] And yet the people were so extremely sensitive upon this point, that no man could be a priest whose mother had fallen as a captive in war into the hands of the Gentiles, and thus brought a suspicion of impurity and Gentile descent upon her children.[2] What horror must have seized upon the Jew when into the Holy of Holies, which even the high-priest after a thousand and a thousand times consecration dared enter only once in the year—when into this awful chamber a Pompeius with his Roman officers forced their way, mockingly examining its unadorned walls, and Italian curses blasphemed the God whose name even it was forbidden to the Israelite to pronounce!

All this rested upon the heads of the people as a heavy curse; the Rabbis complained that since the sacred precinct had been violated, the flowers had lost their scent, the fruits their flavour, the fields their produce.[3] The patriots, however, observed with glaring eyes the Roman posts plant their standards beside the temple, and by their abominations draw down Jehovah's anger upon the land. Moreover, the Romans, too, did nothing that could make their presence more endurable to Jewish sensitiveness; for what was the worst in these relations was, that both

[1] Luke vii. 6. [2] Jos. Apion, i. 7; Antiq. xiii. 10, 5.

[3] Mischna Sotah, 9, 12, 5. Extracts in Gfrörer, Jahrb. d. Heils, 2, 196. Compare especially the saying of Rabbi Simeon, the son of Gamaliel: "From the day when the Temple was destroyed there has been no day without a curse, the dew of blessing falls no longer, and the flavour of the fruits is gone," and variations of it. The motive proceeds from 1 Maccabees i. 21, 28; compare also Psalt. Salom, 17, 25.

peoples did not understand each other. The Romans could never comprehend what this theocratic world, with its peculiarities, with its usages embracing the whole life, would mean. Their own political life was built up upon and designed for external utility and internal logic—in short, upon purely practical purposes. The theocratic policy, on the other hand, was thoroughly ideal, symbol of one thought, and only to be understood from the connection of one quite distinct theory of the universe. He who did not understand this connection and could not find this key, to him the whole theocracy might easily seem to be an outgrowth of rabbinical craziness, as a strange tissue of adventurous follies; and although he might have brought the best of wills, yet he would have to offend and injure even where he could have least expected or intended.

Unfortunately, of any such goodwill there was no trace whatever to be found. Pompeius had begun with the desecration of the temple, and his successors had spared the people not one of the degradations which servitude brings with it. They had placed the murderer of the Maccabean royal house, the friend of the hated Samaritan, over the land as its king. Their procurators had picked the land bare to the bone, tormented the people to the quick, and step by step had struck every national feeling in the face.

No wonder, then, that the Rabbis recognized the fourth beast of the book of Daniel in Rome—"the beast whose teeth were of iron and his nails of brass, which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the saints under his feet."[1] "Thou art the beast," one of the last speakers of this period, who had endured the worst, makes the Messiah say to the Roman eagle, "that remainest of the four beasts whom I made to reign in my world, and to the end that through them the end of these times might come. . . . For the earth hast thou not judged with truth. For thou hast afflicted the meek, thou hast hurt the peaceable, thou hast loved liars, thou hast hated the faithful, and destroyed the dwellings of

[1] Daniel vii. 19.

them that brought forth fruit, and hast cast down the walls of such as did thee no harm. Therefore is thy infamy come up unto the Highest, and thy pride unto the Mighty One. . . . And therefore appear no more, thou eagle, nor thy fearful wings, nor thy wicked feathers, nor thy infamous heads, nor thy hurtful claws, and thy whole infamous body; that all the earth may be refreshed, and may return, being delivered from thy violence, and hope for the judgment and mercy of Him that made it."[1]

Such an extreme opinion of its antagonists on the side of Judaism was opposed on the side of its victors by the strongest feelings of scorn, contempt and disregard which the human breast is capable of entertaining; a succession of antipathies which increased, in proportion to the hatred of the Jews, from decade to decade. The Romans were more especially acquainted with Judaism from the behaviour of the community of Jews in Rome, which had been formed by the freed captives of war in the previous century. To the slave market of those years an immense number of Jews had been brought, but the merchants made a bad business out of them, and some hardly knew what to do with such wares.[2] The slaves, tenaciously clinging to their law, were far too troublesome for members of a household, and were therefore allowed their freedom at a low price, probably because they were more serviceable as *liberti*.[3] Thus there were soon Jews, too, with the Roman citizenship. The number of the large Jewish businesses began to increase,[4] and soon these great Jewish communities were reckoned among the unendurable plagues of the capital's life.

The inquiries into the origin of the peculiar usages, led the lords of the capital into the troubled sources of the Alexandrian stories of the Jews, and we see how even the leading minds of Rome credulously repeat the abominable fables which

[1] 2 Esdras xi. 38—46.

[2] Cic. pro Flacco, xxviii. 69; Bell. i. 11, 2; Apion, i. 7; Philo, Leg. Mang. 1014.

[3] Jos. Vita, 3.

[4] Juv. vi. 545; Jos. Vita, 3; Horace, Satire, i. 9, 61; Mart. xi. 94.

the wickedness of the Alexandrian antagonists of the Jews had invented, and every word of which was blasphemous. Gentile antiquity, moreover, could not recognize as a religion the worship of an imageless, ineffable, invisible God, and the rejection of all national gods.

The most impartial left it undecided who this imageless God of the Jews was;[1] while Strabo thought "that the Jews designate as God what we call heaven and the universe and the nature of things," of which no image certainly can be in reason attempted.[2] In this sense, too, does Juvenal mockingly declare,

> "Some whom a father begot, observing strictly the Sabbath,
> Pray to the clouds alone and Heaven's celestial power."[3]

To worship an invisible Being, however, seemed to the Romans a monstrous superstition and unheard-of credulity. "*Credat Judæus Apella!*"[4] says the proverb therefore. Cicero also terms their religion in his rhetorical passion a *barbara superstitio.*[5] That the Jews, moreover, would make use of no precautions against prognostications of evil, causes Tacitus to observe, "To attempt to appease omens by sacrificial offerings is deemed unlawful by this people, who are given over to superstition, but disinclined to religion."[6] And thus the people who had dedicated their whole life to the service of their faith as none other had done, seemed to the Romans to be without any religion at all, because it presented no points of analogy with the religions of the Gentiles. It was possible to endure other gods, indeed, but the disdaining of all gods seemed unendurable. For this reason does Pliny term their faith as nothing else but an insult to the Godhead.[7] The isolation of the Jews, their fear

[1] Dio Cass. xxxvii. 17. Hyrcanus and Aristobulus quarrelled over the priesthood of their God: ὅς τίς ποτε οὗτος ἐστιν.

[2] xvi. 2. [3] Sat. xiv. 95. [4] Horace, Sat. i. 5, 100.

[5] Pro Flacco, 28. [6] Tacitus, Hist. v. 13.

[7] To the great naturalist they especially seemed to be a "gens contumelia deorum insignis," because they termed the use of dates as applied in the temples "the Chydæus" —date-filth. Hist. Nar. xiii. 9. That the Jews, moreover, did really deride polytheism, and were therefore called, with some reason, "enemies of the gods," is very clear from the Apocrypha. Compare also the narrative in Jos. c. Apion, i. 22.

of contact with Gentile life, their extraordinary precautions in intercourse, could only be explained, it was believed, as proceeding from a terrible oath to hate all men, and only help or attend to those who were of the same faith:

"None to direct in the way who did not pray to their own God,
And only Jews to guide the much-desired springs to."[1]

Thus has Tacitus also interpreted their isolation: "Amongst themselves there prevails a persistent combination and ready liberality, but towards all others an intense hatred. They never eat, they never sleep with strangers. Those who go over to them they instruct in contempt of the gods, in the disowning of one's fatherland, the despising of one's parents, children, brothers and sisters." Yet more emphatically does Apollonius of Tyana express himself during the Jewish wars. "The Jews," he oracularly declares, "have long fallen away, not from the Romans alone, but from all mankind; for a people that devises an uncompanionable life, declines to associate at table with others, as well as to partake in drink-offerings, prayers and incense-offerings, stands further removed from us than Susa and Bactra, and the yet more distant-dwelling Indians."[2]

It is evident that to the Romans this Jewish character was fundamentally repugnant. These usages, "to which men and women cling with equal obstinacy,"[3] and complete singularity of life appeared only to alienate the Jewish people from every other. "In order to attach the people to himself in future ages, Moses gave them new usages, contrary to all other human customs. With them everything is unholy which with us is holy, and that is there permitted which to us is abominable."[4] The Sabbath was explainable from the natural inclination of men to idleness. Thus does Juvenal excuse the young Jews:

. . . . . "The father's to blame, who
The seventh day always was idle, and of work not even the least did."[5]

[1] Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 103.
[2] Philostratus, Vita Apoll. Tyanæi, v. 33.
[3] Tacitus, Hist. v. 13.
[4] Tacitus, Hist. v. 4.
[5] Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 105.

All other customs, however, appeared to the Romans simply absurd, the people unintelligible, and Judæa the land of fools:

. . . . . "Where the kings celebrate the Sabbath with bare feet,
And on the growing swine is ever pardon bestowed."[1]

And also:

"Where they esteem the swine's flesh as high as that of a person."[2]

The aversion to these characteristics, so incomprehensible to Roman minds, amounted in individuals, as Tacitus for example, to an almost demoniacal hatred towards the entire race. In his narrative of the Annals, when Tiberius, in accordance with his usual malice, had allotted to the Jews of the capital who had been enrolled as soldiers the most unhealthy stations, these spiteful words are added—"were they destroyed by the climate, one could be easily reconciled to their loss."[3] Thus does Apollonius of Tyana estimate the value of the Jews: "If one came," said he in Alexandria to Vespasian, "from the seat of war, and told of thirty thousand Jews which had fallen through you, and again of fifty thousand in the following battle, I took the narrator upon one side and asked him with circumspection, what was he doing that he could think of nothing more important than this."[4] Yet more drastic even, and at the extremity of hatred to the Jews, is what Ammianus Marcellinus, after our time, however, relates of Marcus Aurelius: that the emperor in the course of his journey to Egypt, in Palestine, disgusted in the highest degree with the stinking and brawling Jews, exclaimed, Oh Marcomanni! O Quadi! O Sarmatæ! at last have I found a people that are beneath even you![5]

Whilst all understanding of the Jewish ways thus escaped the Romans, it was impossible for them to esteem aright the conduct of the Jewish population. No judgment can be imagined more absolutely wrong than that pronounced by Tacitus, for

[1] Juvenal, Sat. vi. 159. [2] Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 98.
[3] Tacitus, Annals, ii. 85. Compare Antiq. xviii. 3, 5; Sueton. Tiberius, 36.
[4] Philostratus, Apoll. v. 33. [5] Ammon. Marcell. xxiii. 2.

example, on the heroic contest of the Maccabees with the infatuated Antiochus, and on the brilliant period of the Maccabean dominion. "Antiochus," he says, "endeavoured to free the Jews from their superstitions and to give them Greek manners, but was prevented improving this hateful people by the Parthian war." . . . "Because the Macedonians had now become weakened, the Parthians had not yet attained power, and the Romans were at a distance, the Judæans elected their own kings, who were emboldened to drive away the citizens, to seize towns, to murder brothers, wives, parents, and to practise other things usual to kings; at the same time they were favourable to superstition, because they had also seized the priestly dignity."[1] Under such circumstances, Tacitus finds it self-apparent that Pompeius entered the temple "*jure belli*," and has not a single word of praise for the fact, that the Jews preferred surrendering their lives to enduring the image of Caligula in their sanctuary.[2]

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2. The First Conflicts.

Knowing the religious sensibility of the Jews, we should naturally expect that a proceeding which even from a distance betrayed such sentiments towards their sanctuaries, could call forth from them only the most passionate resistance.

In Israel, at first, there had been no such repugnance to the Romans. The Oriental—although the Roman education and discipline of mind, as well as administration, were unendurable to the deepest elements in his character—had nevertheless a high estimation of what the Romans had accomplished. The Maccabeans had deemed it an honour to be termed "*amici et socii populi Romani.*"[3] Even at the time of John Hyrcanus (135—106 B.C.), full recognition was given in Israel to the deeds of Romans. "Now Judas had heard of the Romans," wrote at that

[1] Tacitus, Hist. v. 5, 9. [2] Hist. v. 9. [3] 1 Maccabees xv. 15.

time the author of the 1st Maccabees, "that they were valiant, and such as would lovingly accept all that joined themselves to them, and make a league of amity with all that came unto them, and that they were men of great valour. It was told him also of their wars and noble acts which they had done among the Galatians, and how they had conquered them and brought them under tribute; and what they had done in the country of Spain, winning the mines of silver and gold which are there; and that by their policy and patience they had conquered the whole land, though it were very far from them, and the kings also that came against them from the uttermost part of the earth till they discomfited them. . . . . Yet for all this had none of them assumed a crown or was clothed in purple, to be magnified thereby."[1]

The Jewish inhabitants of Alexandria, certainly, had at that time become more intimately acquainted with the friendship of the Romans;[2] and the poet of the Sibyl—who somewhere about the year 140 B.C. threatened the virgin of cities that her hair would be cut off, and she herself cast down to the earth, and then broke out in the memorable words, καὶ Ῥώμη ῥύμη[3]—estimated the state of affairs more justly than did our Maccabean historiographer, for he could find in Rome only the mighty partner of his courts' politics that were at that time directed against Syria. Later generations made it a subject of severe censure against the Maccabees, that they had had anything at all to do with the Romans.[4] That there was in Israel itself a similar change of opinion in such a brief space of time is the fault of Pompeius, who attacked the country in a treacherous manner and occupied it, in order then in pure insolence to defile the sanctuary of the nation; and, eager to have another chariot more in his triumphal procession, led the royal family that had entrusted itself confidently to his protection in chains before the Roman populace. It was under the

[1] 1 Maccabees viii. 1—14.

[2] Sib. iii. 295—488.

[3] Sib. iii. 364; in Friedlieb's edition, p. 66. Compare the interpolation, iii. 464—470.

[4] Mose. Proph. 8; in Volkmar, p. 29.

impression which these tyrannical acts created, that a patriot composed the so-called Psalms of Solomon, which describe in indignant terms the manner in which Pompeius had thrust himself into the land, and the treacherous duplicity of his politics.

"Calamity and cries of war does mine ear hear," proclaims the writer; "the sound of the trumpet which calls to devastation and death! The rushing of a great army as of a violent raging storm, as of a broad pillar of fire rushing through the desert. A powerful warrior did Jehovah lead forth from the ends of the earth. He hath decreed war over Jerusalem and over his land! The princes of the land went to meet him with joy, and said unto him, Desired is thy way hither; enter in, in peace. They had made smooth the rough places before the entrance of the strangers, they opened the gates of Jerusalem, they adorned its walls with garlands. As a father into the house of his sons, so did he enter in in peace. His foot trod in safety. Then he occupied their towers and the walls of Jerusalem, for God had led him securely in their folly. He destroyed their princes and all the wise men of the Sanhedrin;[1] the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem he poured out like dirty water. Into exile did he lead their sons and daughters, which they had begotten in the time of impurity. They dealt after the manner of their impurity as their fathers had done, defiled Jerusalem and the sanctuaries of God's name."[2]

Both the Maccabeans, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, had invited the mediation of the Roman;[3] the followers of Hyrcanus had moreover admitted the Romans into Jerusalem, and, as the Psalmist informs us, the city had greeted them with holiday attire. As a father had Pompeius entered, but scarcely did he behold the walls and towers in his power than he raged against the princes and councillors, led on by an expelled member of the Sanhedrin.[4] Their sons and daughters were sold as prisoners of war, and wander away to the West.[5] The congregations of the

[1] *πάντα σοφὸν ἐν βουλῇ*, Psalm viii. 23.
[2] Psalm viii. 1, 2, 16—26.
[3] Jos. Bell. i. 6, 4.
[4] Psalm xii.
[5] Psalm xvii. 13.

synagogues were dispersed, as sparrows fluttering away from a threatened nest;[1] the ram began to batter against the walls of the temple. How great, thinks the Psalmist, must be Israel's sin when Jehovah allows this! "When the sinner shamelessly approached with his battering-ram, when he struck the firm walls, Thou God hindered it not."[2] For a time, indeed, the contest was doubtful, and the singer hoped that victory would remain with the occupiers of the temple. "Turn not from us, O Lord, in order that they who hate us without ground may not triumph over us. As Thou hast smitten them down, let not their foot tread upon Thy holy inheritance. Punish us, O Lord, in mercy, and give us not over to the Gentile!"[3] The hope was vain, as another Psalm confesses: "Gone up are the strange people to the altar, and arrogantly put not off their shoes in the holy places, because the sons of Jerusalem have themselves defiled the sanctuaries of Jehovah, and desecrated the gifts of God with unrighteousness."[4] So the prayer arises to Heaven out of their deep distress: "Look down, O Lord, and awaken for them a king, a son of David, at the time which Thou hast appointed, that he may rule over Israel Thy servant!"[5]

Deeper than was suspected in Rome, had Pompeius wounded Jewish feelings; whilst Cicero praises the wisdom of the great Imperator, and counts it high in his favour that he had not at the same time confiscated the Corban.[6] Only a few could console themselves with the later wisdom of Josephus, that the sanctuary must at least have made a great impression upon the Roman.[7] As to the ordinary man, his very heart was moved, and the times which followed were not propitious for removing the sting from the wound.

Certainly, after the long reign of terror of Herod and the short one of Archelaus, in the year 7 the people in Judæa were again

[1] Psalm xvii. 18.
[2] Psalm ii. 1.
[3] Psalm vii. 1—7; also Psalm v. 4, 8.
[4] Psalm ii. 2, 3.
[5] Psalm xvii. 5, 23.
[6] Pro Flacco, xxviii. 69.
[7] Jos. c. Apion, ii. 7.

inclined to the belief that an immediate subjection to the emperor was preferable to the condition of a vassal state. But scarcely had this occupation been accomplished, scarcely had the order gone forth that henceforth all public documents published were to be dated by the year of the emperor's reign, scarcely had the new authorities taken the first steps for ensuring the possibility of an administration according to Roman principles, when it at once became evident how absolutely incompatible Jewish orthodoxy and Roman administration were. In order to obtain an idea of the tax-paying capacity of the land, the proconsul of Syria, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, and his procurator Coponius, ordered that a census of the people and an assessment of property for the first time should be made. From the Roman standpoint this was a perfectly natural course, but the Rabbis declared that any such enumeration was contrary to the law and would bring the plague. It can be easily imagined with what countenance the Roman officials received the request, that in order to avoid a general epidemic they should pay a half-shekel to the temple per head as an expiation;[1] or instead of taking a census of the people according to the usual statistical rules, they should form an estimate by the number of lambs killed at the last feast of the Passover in Jerusalem, and make this the basis of the register.[2] But after all these considerations had been drowned in the blood of thousands of patriots, not one step in advance had been made. The Jewish law was acquainted with these imposts and taxes only for religious purposes, and according to the theory of the Rabbis, even the sanctity of the land depended upon them, in that every field and every forest paid either its tithe or its offering of wood to the temple. But how could this consecration of the land remain if the heathen emperor, in addition to Jehovah, received tribute from the same products? Thus the new question arose: Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar? This question of the Pharisees about the tribute-money must also be fought out with the sword, but only in order that

[1] Exodus xxx. 13. [2] Jos. Bell. vi. 9, 3.

ever and again the hearts of the people are to be wrung with anguish. The Romans, however, were moved with downright fury against this land, whose teachers placed the paying of taxes in the category of sins; for after the Roman system of tax-paying had been completed, there was more than ever opportunity given for continuous friction between the theocratic and Roman tendencies. Every custom-house and every toll-gate was henceforth a rock upon which faithfulness to the law was wrecked, or else a battle-field upon which it offered a glorious contest.[1]

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3. The Economic Condition of Judæa under the Romans.

It happened, moreover, that the Roman system of taxation was in fact not the most brilliant side of imperial administration, so that the opposition to it, which had been based upon principle, had also a very practical significance. All the Roman provinces had to pay certainly two direct contributions—a poll-tax and a land-tax.[2] The poll-tax was a property-tax, in which only those objects were not included which were subject to the land-tax. A separate assessment determined its amount. In Syria and Cilicia it was one per cent. of the property.[3] The second contribution was the land-tax. Inasmuch as all domains on incorporation into the empire passed into the public treasury, the estates of private individuals became subject to the land-tax. This consisted of a tenth of corn and a fifth of wine and fruit. These were collected by the *Publicani*, who bid for the revenue in Rome from the censors for the space of a lustrum (i.e. five years). In addition to this double tax, however, there were extraordinary imposts whenever there was a scarcity of corn in

[1] For further particulars, see below.

[2] Antiq. xviii. 4, 3; Tacitus, Ann. i. 78, xiii. 50—52; Livy, xxv. 3. Compare Bosse, Finanzwesen im römischen Staat, i. 259, and Höck, Römische Geschichte, i. 2, p. 200.

[3] Cicero ad Atticum, v. 16; Appianus, Syr. 49.

Italy, in that then corn had to be furnished at fixed prices. The procurator in Cæsarea, moreover, claimed his own peculiar requisitions for himself and his followers, which were generally collected in money, and gave great room for tyranny and extortion.

Besides this, all tolls had become the property of the Roman state, and frontier-tolls, bridge-tolls, road-tolls, and the market-tolls of the towns, were not only sequestered for Rome, but were also arbitrarily increased and raised.[1] These taxes also were managed by publicani, who bought the profits of these royalties by auction, and then re-let them to under-collectors. That commerce was permanently repressed was the natural result of a system which appealed so strongly to the self-interest of each individual, for every tax-gatherer worked for his own purse. By these means of farming the taxes, all fraud upon the state was avoided, it is true, inasmuch as the imperial treasury had its claims immediately satisfied; but, on the other hand, the power of taxation was thus the more thoroughly exhausted, since each of the farmers and under-farmers must have his profit, and in the end the poor provincial alone had to bear the cost. Instead, therefore, of the expenses of administration being defrayed through the taxes, these expenses were really reckoned up, in addition, to the taxpayer; for the province was the more helplessly given over to extortion, in that publicani generally belonged to the rank of knights, which was the rank that also furnished the judges. This was the result of the law, that senators and magistrates were forbidden to take part in pecuniary and commercial business; in part, too, was it the result of the fact that the largest capitalists belonged to the highest census, that of the knights.[2] For the greater transactions, companies were generally formed; and since the capitalists were universally interested in some one of these companies, the strictest practice was, in the interest of their dividends, the most welcome.[3] Moreover, all

[1] Tacitus, Annals, xiii. 51.

[2] Livy, xxi. 63.

[3] Tacitus, Annals, iv. 6. Compare Huschke, Census und Steuerverfassung der römischen Kaiserzeit, Berlin, 1847.

charges against the tax officials had to be preferred before one who had been or soon would be a tax official himself, or a partner in the business,—a circle in which the charge *repetundarum* was generally illusory. From this impunity attaching to extortion, it was practised to an unheard-of extent. Especially were those liable to the land-tax or tribute, the *aratores, pecuarii,* &c., wronged by arbitrariness of valuation. It was a favourite device of the tax-gatherers, moreover, to advance money to those unable to pay, thus converting the tax into a private debt, upon which a usurious interest was exacted.

Such a state of affairs could only sharpen the religious opposition to taxes paid to a Gentile emperor, and the result of this perpetual friction was a tension in the minds of the people, which discharged itself in hundreds of opportunities, now in flaming sparks, now in powerful blows.

Tacitus has remarked, that in the year 17 the discontent at the burdens of taxation assumed a most threatening character, not only in Judæa, but also in the whole of Syria. The emperor Tiberius declared in the senate, that the movement in the East could only be extinguished by an especial mission of Germanicus.[1] A Jewish deputation had appeared, too, in Rome at that time, to represent how the unendurable burdens of taxation were ruining the country. Numerous intimations in the gospel confirm, indirectly, this account, and show that the impoverishment of Palestine under the dominion of the Romans and Herodians had certainly made rapid strides. The most frequent images in the utterances of Jesus to the people are those of the creditor, the debtor, and the debtor's prison. But where the demands for money are attended with such difficulties, it can with certainty be concluded that impoverishment is there, and is indeed very recent. The anxious care for what shall we eat, what shall we drink, wherewith shall we be clothed, is the one thought in life of ordinary people. In one parable, everybody except the

[1] Tacitus, Annals, ii. 42, 43. Compare, for the year 33, Annals, vi. 16, 17.

king is bankrupt. The steward is in debt to the king, the servant to the steward.[1] The rich who remit to their debtors fifty or five hundred pence are rare indeed;[2] the unmerciful creditor who always has the bailiff at hand is much more frequent. In the street, the creditor seizes the poor debtor, and the judge's officer casts him into prison, out of which he does not depart before he has paid the very last farthing;[3] and if he cannot pay, his lord commands him to be sold, and his wife, and children, and all that he has, and payment to be made.[4] Oil and wheat, the first necessaries of life, are furnished on credit;[5] buildings that have been commenced remain unfinished for want of money;[6] the merchant puts all his means, in order to keep them safe, into a single pearl;[7] in digging in the field, one finds the treasure which another has buried, to keep it from the rapacious hands of the oppressor;[8] speculators keep their corn back from market, and enlarge their storehouses.[9] With this impoverishment is connected the parceling out of estates; in place of the plough, there appears on the smaller allotments spade husbandry. "What shall I do?" says the ruined steward. "I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed."[10] The result of this want of money is usury. The bank of exchange flourishes;[11] in a short time the speculator multiplies his capital five-fold and ten-fold.[12] This is the economic background of the evangelical history which comes to light in a hundred places.[13] The material ruin which Rome and her vassals had brought upon the land, naturally increased also the religious excitability; and the banditti in the mountains, who from year

[1] Luke vii. 41; Matthew xviii. 23. [2] Luke vi. 34. [3] Luke xii. 58.
[4] Matthew xviii. 25. [5] Luke xvi. 6, 7. [6] Luke xiv. 29.
[7] Matthew xiii. 46. [8] Matthew xiii. 44. [9] Luke xii. 18.
[10] Luke xvi. 3. [11] Luke xix. 23; Tacitus, Annals, vi. 16 and 17.
[12] Luke xix. 16 and 18.

[13] The great financial crisis in the empire of the year 33 cannot have remained wholly without effect upon Palestine. All the capitalists held back their money on account of the perverted measures of Tiberius; bankruptcy followed upon bankruptcy. Even the public treasuries and the exchequer kept back their cash payments. Tacitus, Annals, iv. 16, 17.

to year received additions[1] from Jews reduced to beggary and driven from house and home, were seldom prevented keeping the people in commotion about some violation of the law begun by the Romans. Now it was the purity of some feast which would be endangered if the high-priest's garments were kept by the Romans in the castle of Antonia;[2] now a Roman standard had been discovered in Jerusalem,[3] or a Gentile emblem in the temple,[4] or even a votive tablet on Mount Zion,[5] or some Gentile relief on a public building,[6] which threatened the purity of the country, and led to commotions among the people, and even to insurrections. Then, again, it is discovered with horror that a procurator has taken possession of the temple treasury;[7] or a Roman soldier has torn the book of the law;[8] or a Gentile had passed beyond the temple barrier;[9] or another had committed some indecent act in the temple;[10] or some Hellenic youth had in childish sport given expression to his belief as to the mean origin of the Jews.[11] All such occasions were seized upon with an incredible passionateness, and even Josephus has by no means left them in the forgetfulness which they best deserved, but incorporated them in his History, because these tumults and uproar, springing from such trifling occasions, yet often cost hundreds, nay thousands of lives.

Such occurrences were, in fact, memorable symptoms of popular feeling. Certainly even these fiery sparks hardly give a full presentation of the fire which glowed beneath. What was the condition of this fiery furnace itself we learn best from the religious writings of this period, which were the immediate product of the feeling of the time.

[1] Jos. Bell. ii. 12, 5, 14, 1, iv. 8, 2.
[2] Antiq. xx. 1, 1.
[3] Bell. ii. 9, 3.
[4] Bell. i. 33, 2.
[5] Philo, Leg. ad Caj. Mangold, 1034.
[6] Jos. Vita, 12.
[7] Bell. ii. 14, 6.
[8] Bell. ii. 12, 2.
[9] Acts xxi. 28.
[10] Bell. ii. 12, 1.
[11] Bell. ii, 14, 5.

4. The Messianic Expectation.

It was one of the peculiarities of this Jewish people, who possessed at once a passionately deep sensitiveness and the fiery imagination of the South, to paint its national sufferings in the most dreadful colours, and to heighten the national anguish by the most exaggerated rhetoric.

The time of Antiochus has been described in these drastic words by the writer of the first book of Maccabees: "There was great mourning in Israel in all their dwellings. So that the princes and elders mourned: the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of women was changed. Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness."[1] Similar cries of anguish strike ever and again upon our ear, and show that from the feeling in the minds of the people an imminent storm is to be expected, such as that against the Syrians, and that such a storm was expected and predicted even by the people themselves. The best measure of this storm is the Messianic expectations, which ever rose to their highest point at the time of greatest external oppression. Passing over all earlier traces,[2] the times of John Hyrcanus, troubled indeed as they were, yet, owing to the strong arm of the king affording opportunity for writing, were the first which enabled this Messianic expectation, shortly before our period, to find literary expression.

The author of the First Book of the Maccabees at that time states that Judas Maccabeus had arranged the theocracy,[3] and Simon occupied the governorship[4] merely until the "*faithful prophet*" should come of whom Moses himself had prophesied, "A prophet like unto me will the Lord raise up unto thee."[5]

In yet more decisive colours, however, has the unknown writer,

[1] 1 Maccabees i. 25—27.

[2] Thus the numerous Messianic prophecies of the Sibylline Fragments, Book ii.; also Book iii. 286, 370, 620, 652, 670, 710.

[3] 1 Maccabees iv. 46. [4] 1 Maccabees xiv. 41. [5] Deut. xviii. 15.

whose book attained an almost canonical rank[1]—the author of the BLESSING OF ENOCH—given expression to the feeling that the time of the final, that is of the Messianic, formation of the theocracy was close at hand. He describes how Hyrcanus, the sheep with the great horn, scares away the Greek eagles, the Syrian ravens, the Egyptian kites, the Arabian vultures, and the Philistine dogs which were devouring the lost sheep of the house of Israel; and then places in view, in the immediate future, a great and decisive battle, in which Israel will be given the victory over all Gentiles.[2] Then will a throne be set up in the "desirable land," and the Lord of the sheep will seat himself upon it, and the sealed books will be opened. All seducers of Israel among the angels, all oppressors of Israel among the princes, all the seduced in Israel, will be cast out "into a deep place, full of fire, flaming, and full of pillars of fire." Then will Jehovah himself renew the temple, and all the scattered and perishing sheep will gather together around it. Not in this one passage only, but in many, and with numerous variations, does the writer picture the time when "the plant of righteousness" will appear;[3] when the "everlasting and mighty Heaven will grow forth from the midst of the angels;"[4] the Day of Judgment, "when the blood of sinners will flow even to the breasts of their horses; and the Day of Glory, when legions of angels will be seen in the heavens, and the just will awake out of their death-sleep."[5]

That this book, written some forty years before the first appearance of the Romans in Palestine, had become at the time of Jesus the common property of the people, is proved by the general acquaintance with it shown everywhere by the Gospels, and the currency of its phrases and promises. The people in the fishing villages of the Sea of Gennesareth must have been tho-

[1] Compare the use of this book in the eschatological passages of the Gospels, and the citations in Jude 14 and 2 Peter ii. 4, 11.

[2] Das Buch Henoch, cap. 90, 1—20.

[3] Das Buch Henoch, cap. 10, 16, to cap. 11, 2. [4] Cap. 91, 16.

[5] Cap. 100. These passages retain their force, even though caps. 37 to 71 should be proved to be post-Christian.

roughly familiar with the external establishment of the Messianic kingdom, when the disciples of Jesus could desire to distribute its places and seats amongst themselves. The detailed eschatology of the Apocalypse also can only be explained from the intimate acquaintance of the author with this and similar books.[1]

In yet greater measure is this true of the book of DANIEL, of which we are expressly told that it was the favourite book of this time;[2] and the vivid descriptions which Josephus has given from this prophet, would in themselves have proved the preference which he himself had for Daniel. He calls him "the chosen friend of God." "All things," he declares, "happened to him as to one of the greatest of the prophets beyond all expectation; and thus not only while he was living did he enjoy the greatest esteem and honour from both kings and the multitude, but also after his death was he held in perpetual remembrance. The writings which he left behind him are read by us to this day, and from them we are convinced that Daniel conversed with God. For he unfolds to us not only the future, as other prophets do, but he *determines the exact time when these things will occur;* and whilst the other prophets foretell misfortune, and on that account are hated by princes and people, Daniel was a messenger of peace to them, so that he was beloved of all on account of the glad prospects which he announced: and since the result corresponded with his predictions, he obtained from the people faith and reverence as though he were divine, in equal degree."[3] This exposition shows very clearly that the people desired only to find indications of the day and hour of the last things in the prophets, and therefore they "hated" the other prophets, and loved Daniel because he gave definite indications for their calculations; whilst the prophetic passages had to be

[1] Revelation ii. 15, iii. 12. Compare Galatians iv. 26, Jude 14, 2 Peter ii. 4, 11; but especially Jubilees, cap. 4, Jahrbuch 1849, and the frequent reminiscences of the readings of the Book of Enoch in cap. 4, 5, 10, 11.

[2] Antiq. x. 10, 11.

[3] Antiq. x. 10, 7.

laboriously sought for amongst the religious and moral contents of the rest, only to find that more frequently punishment and correction were announced than prospects such as Daniel shows, whom on account of his εὐφημία they esteemed as the sweetest of the prophets. In him the school to whose views Josephus as friend of the Romans only gave a very hesitating assent, read that Rome was the last empire before the Messianic one, that "fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet."[1] According to his εὐφημία, however, the prophet immediately adds that this iron kingdom had feet of clay, and a stone was cast down, "not by human hands," to break it in pieces. Then comes the kingdom which shall not be destroyed for ever, the dominion of which shall not be given to another people.[2] In heaven appears one like a son of man, to whom dominion and glory and a kingdom will be given, in order that all people, nations, and languages shall serve him.[3] In his kingdom shall "they that be wise shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn the many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."[4]

Although Josephus avoided the dangerous task of interpreting this prophecy of Daniel's to his Roman readers, by the prudent turn that "he was an historian of the past things and not of future,"[5] yet this embarrassed silence is in itself a clear proof of how near he with his contemporaries believed the downfall of this iron kingdom to be. A wonderful effect of the power of a universal popular belief upon even a worldly and degenerate spirit![6]

In addition to these more ancient books that were now brought

[1] Antiq. x. 11, 7; Bell. vi. 5, 4; compare Gerlach, die Weissag. des A. T. in den Schriften des Josephus, p. 53, &c.; also 2 Esdras xi. 38, &c.; Mose. Proph. cap. 8, in Volkmar, p. 42. An indirect testimony to this interpretation is found in Tacitus, Histories, v. 13, and Suetonius, Vespasian, 4.

[2] Daniel ii. 44. [3] Daniel vii. 13, 14. [4] Daniel xii. 3.

[5] Antiq. x. 10, 4; compare xi. 7.

[6] Compare also Antiq. iv. 6, 5, 6, and iv. 8, 4, 4; Bell. v. 9, 3.

forth with such devotion, and retained such a powerful hold upon the imagination of the people, new prophets also made their appearance, as the one who composed his poems at the time of the first Roman invasion under Pompeius, the PSALMS OF SOLOMON. "Proclaim glad tidings in Jerusalem," declares the eleventh Psalm, "for God hath had mercy upon Israel in her visitation. Set thyself, O Jerusalem, upon a high place, and behold thy sons and thy daughters from the morning until the evening brought together for ever by the Lord." "For he will cleanse Jerusalem with his sanctification, even as it was at the first, so that nations will come from the ends of the earth to behold its glory. No evil will prevail among them in these days, for all shall be holy, and their king is Christ the Lord."[1] So continues the 17th Psalm.

Out of their deep needs does the confident expectation of the Messiah arise, and the watchword of the Psalmist is, *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*![2]

As here amidst the uproar of the battle-field, so also in the stillness of the study of the learned, do we find this same hope vigorous. It slips out from the pen of ONKELOS, when in Genesis xlix. 10—"The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come"—he translates Shiloh by Meshicha, a term which, in the time when the sceptre had been already taken from Judah, could only signify that the Messianic kingdom was at hand. He as well as Jonathan further interpret a series of passages which are either not necessarily or else not at all Messianic in this sense, thus proving how much their minds were ruled by this one idea;[3] and thus the Rabbis finally said in reference to it, "All the prophets prophesied of nothing else than of the days of Messiah."[4]

[1] Psalmi Salomonis (in Hilgenfeld's Messias Judaorum); Psalm xvii. 33, 36.

[2] Psalm xvii. 4.

[3] Numbers xxiv. 17; Jonathan in Isaiah ix. 4. Compare Langen, das Judenthum in Palestine zur Zeit Christi, Freiburg, 1864, p. 419.

[4] B. Berac. f. 34, 2, 4; for further passages of this description, compare Gfrörer, ii. page 198.

Setting out from this supposition, a series of quite distinct passages from the prophets had been collected together, which gave all details as to the person of Messiah. That the advent of Messiah would be preceded by his star in the heavens, was gathered from Balaam's words on the star out of Jacob;[1] from Isaiah it remained certain that he would come from the house of David, although the last race of kings, the Maccabees, were descended from the tribe of Levi and not of Judah.[2] Moreover, that he would be born in Bethlehem had been discovered from the words of the prophet Micah;[3] that in Galilee his light would lighten the Gentiles appeared from the prophet Isaiah; that he would build a new temple, from Zechariah.[4] So special were these researches, that in the schools a Messianic interpretation was forced into the words of Isaiah,[5] "Neither let the eunuch say, Behold, I am a dry tree," and the emasculated servants of Herod were able to find consolation for themselves in it; whilst at a later period the "son of the star," Bar-Cochba, found his own Messiahship foretold in Numbers xxiv. 17: "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite in pieces both sides of Moab."

PHILO also, who perhaps of all his contemporaries least looked forward to the days of Messiah, yet could not be quite silent concerning them. He pictures them at the time when the misused earth, under the blessing of the Sabbath rest and Sabbath year, would again breathe, and feel once more freed from the sinful beings which it had been compelled to bear.[6] "Then will the earth revive and be refreshed, as an athlete collects his power after relaxation. As a loving mother will she embrace her lost sons and daughters, and with new creative power bring forth a better race, as the prophet says . . . . The unfruitful shall number many children. . . . . Those also dispersed

[1] Test. xii.; Patr. Levi, 18; Bar-Cochba. [2] Mark xii. 35, 37.

[3] Matthew ii. 6; John vii. 42.

[4] Matthew iv. 15; Antiquities, xv. 11, 1; Das Buch Henoch, 91, 13; Matthew xxvi. 61.

[5] Isaiah lvi. 3. [6] De Execratione, Frankfurter Ausgabe, 935.

in the most distant lands, and are slaves to their conquerors, will then be freed as by an edict, for their masters will admire the harmonious manner in which their slaves lay aside their sins and follow virtue, and will be ashamed to command those who are better than themselves. Possessed of unexpected freedom, all those who were scattered throughout the lands and islands of Greece and of the barbarians will arise at the same moment, and stream from every side to the promised land. And they will be led by one of divine and superhuman form, who will be visible only to the saved, but to the rest will be invisible. . . . . Then when they have reached the places they desired, the towns will arise from their ruins, the land will be rebuilt, the unfruitful become fruitful, and the people will flourish in spite of their enemies." Yet more vividly has the philosopher of Alexandria described the Messianic kingdom as the kingdom of virtue, in which, according to the words of the prophet, everlasting peace will prevail. "Lions, bears, panthers, Indian elephants and tigers will gradually lay aside their wildness, and regard mankind as their teachers. Scorpions and serpents will lose their poison; even crocodiles and hippopotami will in their reverence for holiness not meddle with the virtuous. But should the enemies of this kingdom disturb its peace, they will experience terrible alarm, and those who approached upon one path will be scattered apart on many. For there will come a man, so the promises declare, who will subject many and great nations as their ruler and general, in that God sends the pious the auxiliaries he has promised. And these are the immovable strength of soul and great power of body, each of which in itself inspires fear in the enemy; but where both are united, then none can withstand."

Thus the pious will not only win a bloodless victory, but also extend their dominion far and wide over the nations whom they subdue through terror, through confusion of face, or through goodness.[1] Philo also puts the clearest announcement of the

[1] De pramia et poenitia, Frankfurter Ausgabe, 925.

coming Christ in the mouth of Balaam when he makes him declare to Israel, "There will a man proceed from you in days to come who will rule over many nations; his empire will be extended day by day, and will be raised very high."[1] But as to when this kingdom of God and his anointed would appear upon earth, Philo says nothing. It lies for him in a distant future, if indeed it is not altogether in a new world.

So much the clearer is the author of the JUBILEES in connecting his promises with the distress of the Roman period, in the most troubled days of which, probably shortly after King Agrippa's death, he wrote: "As a punishment for their disobedience, the people are delivered over to the Gentiles for imprisonment, for the halter, and for destruction."[2] Their lords are "wicked and mighty people, in order that they may deal worse than all the children of men, and exercise dominion over Israel and commit iniquity against Jacob, and much blood be shed upon earth. In *those days* will they cry and beg and pray that they may be freed from the hand of the sinful Gentiles, but there will be no one who will deliver them." But then comes the redemption. "The days will begin to lengthen, and the children of men will grow older from generation to generation and from day to day, until the duration of their life will be nigh unto a thousand years. And there will be no more an old man or one weary of life among them, but they will all be as children and youths, and will all complete their days in peace and joy, and live as though there were no Satan or any other wicked destroyer. For all their days will be days of blessing."[3]

After the Jubilees follows in order of time JOSEPHUS. Wearied and faint-hearted as he was, he only gave a very feeble expression to the hopes of a fulfilment of the promises in which he for his own part believed, as we have already seen in the use he made of Daniel. "Perchance thou mayest once again come to honour,"

[1] Cap. i. p. 232, der Göttingen, Jahrbucher, 1850.

[2] Vita Mos. Mangold, ii. 126.

[3] Cap. 23, Jahrbuch, 1851, p. 24.

does he cry over the ruins of Jerusalem, "when thou hast reconciliated the God who has destroyed thee;" but he adds, as if he had already said too much, "the duty of the historian places a limit to my feelings, and I have now not to lament my home, but to give an account of the circumstances."[1] Just in the same way do we see him turn aside in the Antiquities, when he ought to have interpreted the stone in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, on the ground that he was no historian of the future, but of the past. He had learned to speak gently in the palace of the Flavians, and often say, indeed, the opposite of what he thought; and yet it happens to him that when he is giving an account of Balaam's predictions as to Israel's future, the words slip from his pen, that his people, who are appointed to spread over the whole earth, will also obtain victory and power even over those who have ever been accustomed to return home victorious.[2] When, too, he calls Daniel the prophet who had foretold only what was good, who was the messenger of peace for Israel and disclosed bright prospects, he makes it not difficult to guess that the "subjection and destruction of the people by the Romans" was not the last thing of all that he read there; he may even under that stone of Nebuchadnezzar's, which followed the fourth kingdom of the world, have understood the Messianic kingdom or Messiah himself.[3]

Thus this expectation had been handed on through a long chain until it reaches the last generation, and there the series ends narrowly enough. Enoch gives his hand to the writer of the Psalter of Solomon, this latter to the Targumists, Philo to the author of the Jubilees, and he again to Josephus. That in this faith there was no mere barren tradition of the schools, but a strong conviction of the people generally, the Romans experienced in the last decisive contests; and their historians recognized more thoroughly than Josephus ventured to do, that the Messianic expectation was the cause of the Jewish certainty of

[1] Bell. v. 1, 3. [2] Antiq. iv. 6, 5.
[3] Antiq. x. 10, 4; 11, 7; compare Matthew xxi. 44.

victory. "Through the whole East," declares Suetonius, "an ancient and firm faith has won universal acceptance, that at this time, according to the decrees of destiny, a people who take their origin from Judæa would become masters of the whole world. This prophecy, which as far as can be seen from the result referred to a Roman emperor, the Jews understood of themselves, and rose up against Rome. They murdered the governor, and, moreover, forced the legates of Syria to take to flight."[1] To the same motive does Tacitus attribute the stubborn resistance of Jerusalem. "The majority were of the persuasion that in the ancient writings of the priests it was stated that it would happen, that at the same time the East would become prosperous, and that from Judæa would proceed the dominion of the world, which intimation referred to Vespasian and Titus. But this people, in accordance with human covetousness, interpreted this elevated destiny of themselves, and would not once suffer themselves to be deceived by any adversities."[2] The interpretation that this Messianic promise refers to Vespasian, has, it is well known, its origin in Josephus,[3] who, in a particularly shameless hour, called this—the most sacred promise of his people, a promise, too, in which he himself believed—"an ambiguous oracle." Its application to a single emperor proves, however, most distinctly that it was a personal Messiah that was expected, and not merely a Messianic time.

But there are also the strongest direct witnesses to this fact. It had been stated already by the most celebrated Rabbis, Simon ben Shetach and Juda ben Tabbai, that they waited for the "consolation of Israel" at the time of Alexandra.[4] Herod made endeavours to win the Messianic crown for himself by fulfilling the promise of Zechariah that at that time the temple should be rebuilt;[5] and towards his end the Pharisees prophesied to one of the royal eunuchs, that now the king would come who would restore manhood to the eunuchs, and bring all things under

[1] Suetonius, Vespasian, 4. [2] Tacitus, Histories, v. 13. [3] Bell. vi. 5, 4.
[4] Herzfeld, iii. 332. [5] See under Herod.

his hand.[1] This supposition of the near approach of a personal Messiah underlies, too, the whole circle of the people to whom the Gospels introduce us. "Art thou he that should come, or are we to look for another?" is the Baptist's question to Jesus.[2] "Why say the scribes that Elias must first come?" is the question of the disciples.[3] "Art thou the king of the Jews?" does also Pilate ask.[4] More especially in the introduction to the Gospel of Luke—the figures of which are genuine representations of those to whom at this time, as in the case of Simeon, the promise of the Messiah had been made by the Holy Ghost, and who could not live and die without having seen the Holy One of the Lord—does a breath reach us of that spirit which inspired every Jewish household. As Simeon waited for the consolation of Israel, so Anna "spake to all them that looked for the redemption of Jerusalem;"[5] and thus, too, Joseph of Arimathæa is described as a member of the Sanhedrin, "who was himself also waiting for the kingdom of God."[6] The disciples of Jesus are themselves of the opinion that the mission of their Master was to save and elevate Israel. "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel."[7] A peculiar atmosphere had gathered. "And as the people were in expectation, all men mused in their hearts of John whether he were not haply himself the Christ."[8] There was a confidence in this expectation which was very near akin to an attempt to accomplish it. From that firm Apocalyptic confidence that it could not continue thus much longer, that since God would at some time accomplish his promises He must do so now, it was only one step more to actual Messianic attempts. More than one man at this period was bold enough to venture upon the initiating steps to the Messianic age, and after the expectation—which of all that was announced by the prophets was the most tender and poetical—had once been dragged into the noise and confusion of party

[1] Antiq. xvii. 2, 5. [2] Matthew xi. 3. [3] Matthew xvii. 10.
[4] Matthew xxvii. 11. [5] Luke ii. 25, 38. [6] Mark xv. 43.
[7] Luke xxiv. 21; compare Acts i. 6. [8] Luke iii. 15.

contest, it was not always the purest hands which were most zealous in rendering service. Thus of Judas Gaulanites, Josephus declares, that he attempted practically to accomplish the doctrine of the Pharisees: what doctrine that was, it is not said; but Gamaliel, in the Acts of the Apostles, ranks him with the Messianic dreamer Theudas, and proves from his downfall that another Messianic movement must be useless, and will fail of itself unless God be with it.[1] Of others is it in itself clear that they intended, as John the Baptist, to bring in the kingdom of God "with power,"[2] only not through a conversion of the people in masses, as he had done, but through an actual commencement which Jehovah could not leave in the lurch.

Who is there to-day who places himself in the position of a prophet, such as Theudas for example, who appeared at the time of Fadus, and desired to lead the people back into the desert by the same path in which Moses had led them to Palestine, in order to manifest the revelation of the Messiah, not doubting for one moment that, as then, so now, Jehovah would divide the Jordan, so that Israel might cross dry-footed?[3] So, too, when the call, which we know so well in the Gospels, "to show a sign" forced itself upon another, he did not hesitate one moment in leading the people out to the Mount of Olives, where he, as a second Joshua, commanded the walls of the Gentile-grown Jerusalem to fall down.[4] With the growing distress, this fanaticism increased and not decreased. Josephus, who here too, it is true, can see only conspiracy and treachery, informs us: "During the siege the Zelots had distributed many false prophets among the people, who exhorted them to build upon God's help, in order that they might not desert, and in order that those who were above their anxiety and watching might retain their hopes. For men in adversity are easily persuaded: but when such

[1] Acts v. 36.

[2] *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται, καὶ βιασταὶ ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν.* Matthew xi. 12.

[3] Antiq. xx. 5, 1.

[4] Antiq. xx. 8, 6.

deceivers promise deliverance from present misery, then the oppressed surrender themselves entirely to such hopes." [1]

Even in the last hours of the war, during the storming of the temple by the Romans, a prophet collected six thousand men, women and children in the outmost court, because at this moment the signs of the Messianic kingdom must appear in the heavens. Extraordinary product of an awful ferment and despair amounting to madness! And yet these were not the most extreme cases. The men of whom Josephus tells us had limited themselves to forcing Jehovah to send the Messiah, but there is also evidence that even at that time many came forth as themselves being Messiah, and that Bar-Cochbar was not the first of his kind. That *vaticinium post eventum* of Matthew xxiv., which arose out of the fresh remembrances of the not yet ended Jewish war, thus declares: "Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Messiah or there, believe it not; for there shall arise false Messiahs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth: Behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not." Accordingly it appears that at that time there was one and another "son of deceit," who as "false Christ" did set the star diadem of the Messiah upon his head. And why not? Oriental mysticism comes of warmer blood than ours, and we must not forget that the Jews of this period were neighbours of the Arabians, and measured the world rather by the imagination than the reason. Moreover, a history of a thousand years had educated the people for this faith. It was the result of the whole previous development, and now there remained but this choice, either to give up the convictions of their fathers, or else courageously to hope that now, even at the eleventh hour, the promises would be fulfilled which had been held out to the people since the time of Joel. Thus it is explained that every one who felt the power within himself to

[1] Bell. vi. 5, 2.

become the saviour of his people, could thus put the question, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" The mould had long before been formed in which he, the greatest of his people, had to be cast; and that one did come who gave contents to this form, is a sacred sign that that which the people had been so long bearing in their hearts as their beloved and best, was never merely a phantom of the imagination. But neither in the others was it mere vain delusion which urged them, from the sons of Hezekiah to the son of the Star, to unfurl the banner of Messiah; and the alternative, were they either deceivers or deceived, is entirely false. They were neither; they were the sons of their time, and not more deluded than is everybody by the world of ideas in which he lives, and perchance were but in error as to the measure of their ability. He who proposes such tests as they did, cannot be upbraided as—to use the words of the apostate Josephus—a juggler; for a man who ventures upon the test of miracle at the peril of his life, must at least have *himself* believed in his mission, whatever else may be the fanaticism to which he has fallen a victim.

Fifth Division.

HEROD.

HEROD.

1. The Work of Antipater.

The arrangement of affairs in Palestine in the middle of the first century before Christ was the work of Pompeius, who in the year 64 B.C., after the death of Mithridates, re-organized Syria and the surrounding countries. The whole constitution of Pompeius in the eastern corner of the Mediterranean, has been not inaptly compared to the condition of Germany in the middle ages, so variously were the wholly or partially independent cities and allied cities scattered in between the greater territories of Roman feudal princes, vassals and sacerdotal kings. A closer inspection of the new organization of Palestine reveals, however, that this apparently irrational dismemberment of territories originally united, and division of powerful state organizations by wedging in between them political exceptions, immunities and privileges, really rested upon the deliberate purpose of never again allowing a strong political organization to arise here, but by a clever use of local interests and tribal jealousies, to promote political vitality in the new constitution.

In Palestine, the fratricidal war between the sons of the energetic Alexander Jannæus had given an opportunity to the Romans of thrusting themselves in as arbitrators. The younger and warlike Aristobulus had wrested the crown from the feeble Hyrcanus, and at first the latter had been quite content to exchange the anxieties of the crown for the dignity of the high-

priesthood. A marriage between Aristobulus' son Alexander and Hyrcanus' daughter Alexandra sealed the peace. Then an influential Idumæan, ANTIPATER, rejected by Aristobulus, managed to creep into the confidence of Hyrcanus. This noteworthy man was the son of the powerful governor of Idumæa, who under Alexandra had become rich and influential by treaties with the Arab princes and connection with the corporations of Gaza and Ascalon. The son, endowed with a decided taste for political intrigue, induced the weak-minded high-priest by representations of danger to fly to Petra, whence Aretas, king of the Nabatæans, led him back, accompanied by a large army, as king of Judæa. The Arabians besieged Jerusalem, which Aristobulus bravely defended. Then in the year 64 B.C. the legates of Pompeius entered Syria, and commanded the Nabatæan king to vacate Judæa. Aretas obeyed, and the contending brothers were now both alike powerless. But Antipas, who had hitherto conspired with the Arabians, was at once determined to seek support from Rome. He who had been at first the friend of Hyrcanus and afterwards of Aristobulus, now appealed to the decision of the Roman eagle. Pompeius, who had set his heart upon a speedy return to Rome, and had already expended too much time in overthrowing the robber princes of Libanon and in Ituræa, treacherously took possession of the land in the year 63; nevertheless, he found himself compelled to besiege the temple at Jerusalem, since Aristobulus' warlike party disputed his entrance, and had transformed the temple into a fortress. In the June of the year 63, the temple fell after a three months' resistance, and Pompeius did not suspect what bitter hatred he brought upon himself and his people because he with his unclean feet passed beyond the forecourt of the priests, in order with his Roman officers to inspect the Holy of Holies. That he had left the treasures of the temple undisturbed, gave him, he believed, a claim upon the gratitude of the Jews for respecting their sanctuary.[1] Of the conquered land he disposed according to the measure of Roman interests.

[1] Cicero, pro Flacco, c. 28.

Already in Damascus had the Pharisees besought him to confer the dignity of king upon neither of the contending brothers, but to establish the theocracy, which alone was in accordance with the law.[1] Their proposal corresponded best with his plans. He abolished the kingship, and nominated Hyrcanus as high-priest and ethnarch, with the title of *Socius atque amicus populi Romani*. Jerusalem was declared to be a tributary town, and its fortifications were demolished. Of the conquests of the Maccabees, which had cost so much and such noble blood, was Judæa deprived in one day. The towns of Cœle-Syria were allotted to the province of Syria. Gadara, Hippos, Pella in the country beyond Jordan, and Scythopolis in the upper valley of the Jordan, were received into the alliance of the Decapolis. Marissa, in the plain of Judah, became a free city. The whole coast, the laborious acquisition of the last century, was again separated off, and Gaza, Ashdod, Arethusa, Jamnia, Joppa, Stratonstower and Dora were declared to be Greek towns with the right of a city alliance, subject to the pro-consul of Syria. It had once been said of Simon Maccabeus, "And as he was honourable in all his acts, so in this, that he took Joppa for a harbour, and made an entrance to the isles of the sea."[2] Now all that was past, and it cost the mean-spirited Hyrcanus not a single tear to surrender the greatest acquisitions of his ancestors. What gave the Jews most pain was the restoration of hostile Samaria, whose territory thrust itself in as a wedge between the holy city and the faithful Galilee, and was cherished by the Syrian proconsul, who also rebuilt its capital with especial care.

Thus after a war of scarcely four moons' duration were the acquisitions of John Hyrcanus dissipated, and Pompeius, in his pompous triumphal procession which wound its way through the streets of the city of Rome on the 28th and 29th of September, 61 B.C., was enabled to lead the dethroned Aristobulus with his family and uncle Absalom at his chariot-wheel, beside the children of Mithridates, Tigranes, and Phraates. Whilst Rome was ridicul-

[1] Antiq. xiv. 3, 2.

[2] 1 Maccabees xiv. 5.

ing the pretentious deeds of Pompeius, and Cicero was ironically terming him in his Epistles, "*hic noster Hierosolymarius*,"[1] in Judæa the deepest depression prevailed. The whole proceedings of the Romans, who had hitherto been considered friendly, had greatly agitated the people, as the passages from the Psalms of Solomon previously quoted prove. Especially upon Antipater did the hatred of the people accumulate. Possibly it is he whom the Psalmist addresses in the words, "Why, unclean one, dost thou sit in the Sanhedrin, and thy heart is far from the Lord, and by thy misdeeds angering the God of Israel?" Dissimulation, hypocrisy, adultery and bloodshed does he hurl at this unnamed person, and compares him to a biting serpent.[2] But the people upon whom judgment has thus fallen are not guiltless in the writer's opinion. Therefore has the beating of the battering-ram against the sacred walls, the desecration of their holy ones, the execution of the noblest members of the Sanhedrin, the transportation of their sons and daughters to the West, bowed down the poet ever more and more, and in deep contrition does he throw himself in the dust before the castigating hand of Jehovah.[3] But the measure of their judgments was not yet filled up.

On the frontiers the Arabian war continued. Its completion had been wisely thrust by Pompeius upon his legate Scaurus, and when Aristobulus' son ALEXANDER, in a successful rising in the year 57, defeated the troops of Hyrcanus and Antipater, the proconsul of Syria, Gabinius, again marched into Judæa and annihilated the rebels before Jerusalem. The best service in this action was rendered by a young cavalry officer, three-and-twenty years old, Marcus Antonius, who at that time, as a ruined profligate, and dunned by his creditors, had few friends. The sharp eye of Antipater alone could discern that there was a career before this talented officer, and he entered into friendly relations with him, which had most important results for the

[1] Ad Atticum, 2, epis. 9.

[2] Psalmi Salomonis, iv.

[3] Psalmi Salomonis, ii. 1, 2, viii. 15, 18, xvii. 14, &c. &c.

future. By the practical advice of Antipater, the campaign was speedily brought to an end, Hyrcanus was restored and the country disarmed. And now Gabinius had the idea of converting the Jewish territory, which before had never seemed to him sufficiently divided up, into five republics.[1] The republic of Galilee held a Sanhedrin in SEPPHORIS; two transjordanic republics held theirs in GADARA and AMATHUS respectively, and even Judæa was formed into two states, with JERICHO and JERUSALEM for their centres. Without doubt such an arrangement was considered to be a triumph of Roman statecraft. Galilee separated from Judæa by the independent Samaria, both cut off from the sea by the Syrian allied cities; the greater Gentile towns strengthened by alliance with the Decapolis, and the rest distributed into five mutually independent aristocracies; all this appeared to these degenerate statesmen to be without doubt an unsurpassable application of the political recipe which their fathers had bequeathed them, "*divide et impera.*" A new proof that at that time great political principles had fallen into weak hands, incapable of forming an accurate judgment, else it would never have been attempted to apply to the Jews what was, perchance, quite suitable for Macedonians. Political organizations had little influence indeed upon Judaism, and only a most superficial acquaintance with the true depth of Jewish national feeling could, even for one moment, have believed that such boundaries would be anything more to this theocratic people than ripples upon the surface of the current. Although it seemed impossible that such topsy-turvy arrangements could have any continuance, yet in every insurrection of the people the fortune of war declared itself against the Jews. Thus a second revolt of Aristobulus, who had escaped from Rome, in the year 56, and a third by his son Alexander in the year 55, were quickly suppressed. When, in the year 52, the Parthians avenged the entire East on the avaricious Crassus, who in the midst of peace had plundered the temple treasury, and Cassius arrived in Syria with

[1] Antiq. xiv. 5, 4.

his legions shattered by the horsemen of Orodes, the Jews dared once more to try their fortune. But even then did victory lie with the cool bravery of the shattered republicans and the adroit activity of Antipater. Antipater, who had concluded strict alliance with Rome on the one side and with the Arabians on the other, was now the unconditional master of the country.[1]

Then the civil war between Pompeius and Cæsar, in the year 49, seemed to promise at least a change of governors. For the governors of Judæa had with the whole of the East declared for Pompeius. Cæsar, consequently, set the imprisoned Aristobulus at liberty, and placed him in command of two legions, in order that he might free his native land from the partizans of Pompeius. Antipater and Hyrcanus were already trembling in fear of revolt of the people, supported by the Roman legions, when the news arrived that the Pretender had suddenly died, it was said of poison, and that his son Alexander had been beheaded at Antioch by command of Pompeius.[2] In consequence of these events, of which the members of the Maccabean court were hardly quite innocent, the dreaded expedition fell through. But when the battle of Pharsalos, on the 9th of August, 48 B.C., had decided the fate of Pompeius's party, Hyrcanus and Antipater found themselves in at least no different a situation from that of all the Egyptian, Phœnician and Syrian towns, which now recalled their fleets and military contingents as fast as possible. On the 28th of September, Pompeius fell, on the neighbouring coast of Egypt; meanwhile the mutinous mob of Alexandria were quite prepared that Cæsar, who had set up as the arbitrator in the contest for the Egyptian throne, at the head of hardly four thousand men, should follow the example of his late opponent. The Egyptian soldiery, in union with the fanatical citizens, stormed the quarters occupied by Cæsar. With difficulty did the latter defend the eastern harbour, the lighthouse-island, and the nearest of the streets of the town. His situation was becoming doubtful, when just when the need was greatest did a promiscuous army of vas-

[1] Antiq. xiv. 7, 3. [2] Antiq. xiv. 7, 4.

sals from Asia Minor make their appearance, in order to wipe away the remembrance of their connection with Pompeius.[1] In front were the splendid Itureans, who first from Pompeius had learned respect for Rome; then the Bedouin chief Jamblichos, from the district of Damascus; and more especially Antipater, with three thousand choice troops, which gave solidity to this chance-gathered corps. This extraordinary army was commanded by Mithridates of Pergamos, the bastard of the great Mithridates; but the most important person amongst them was Antipater, who had collected his friends the Bedouin chiefs of the neighbourhood together, and persuaded the Egyptian Jews to provision the army. After storming Pelusium, and a battle won by Antipater in the so-called Jews' quarter between Oniôn and Heliopolis, the succouring corps and Cæsar's army effected a conjunction, and stormed the camp of the young Ptolemæus Dionysus, who sank with his over-crowded boat in the Nile, as he was crossing over to the fleet. Alexandria received merciful punishment at the hands of its generous victor, already in love with Cleopatra, now one-and-twenty years of age.[2] The Jews derived most important advantages from the affair. Cæsar bestowed upon them in Alexandria all rights which the Greek inhabitants enjoyed, and confirmed their ancient privileges.[3] The supply of corn for the capital, especially, was placed under their management, and the harbour police partly put in their hands.[4] The arrangements in Palestine, on the other hand, were adjourned, as Cæsar was, in March 47 B.C., suddenly summoned to Asia Minor in order to repel Pharnaces, king of Armenia, who had invaded Pontus.

When the battle at Ziela, on the 2nd of August, 47 B.C., had put an end to the Armenian war, the Imperator, after despatching his well-known laconic report, "Veni, vidi, vici," to the senate,[5] and pronouncing Pompeius fortunate because a victory over such

[1] Bell. Jud. i. 10, 1.
[2] Cæsar, Bell. Alx. 33.
[3] Jos. Bell. Jud. ii. 18, 7.
[4] Jos. contra Apion, ii. 4, 5.
[5] Suetonius, Cæsar, 52.

a rabble had conferred the title "great" upon him,[1] returned to Syria in order to decide upon the fate of his allies. Antipater had come to his camp, and Aristobulus' second son, Antigonus, had also appeared there, in order to defend his claims to the Jewish throne. He was of the firm conviction that Cæsar would punish Antipater as a partizan of Pompeius, while his father and brother had been from the first on Cæsar's side. He was greatly undeceived when he found that his more ancient claims availed nothing in comparison with Antipater's hardly cicatrized wounds, which had saved Cæsar from ruin in Alexandria. Enraged, he left the camp in order to seek that recognition of his legitimate rights among the Parthians which was denied him by Rome. In other respects Cæsar's arrangements were very favourable to the Jews. The Jews of Asia Minor received confirmation of their disputed privilege of exporting money to Jerusalem. Their synagogues were placed under the protection of the temple laws, and it was yet more distinctly defined that, on the Sabbath and days of preparation, the Jews could no longer be summoned for public affairs after the sixth hour.[2] In Palestine, Cæsar quietly set aside the five republics of Gabinius, in that he confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood, and appointed Antipater procurator (ἐπίτροπος, ἐπιμελητὴς) of the country, giving him the rights of a Roman citizen.[3] To the great joy of the Jews, Joppa was restored to them, and in the same manner the districts in the plain of Esdraelon which had been allotted to the Decapolis were also restored. Of the places upon the Syro-Phœnician coast, however, only those were restored to the Jews which the Maccabees had obtained, not by force of arms but by exchange, or as a gift from their former owners, and upon which, therefore, they had, as it were, a claim of a private nature. In all the Syrian and Phœnician towns the Jews were to enjoy all their religious opportunities as in Jewish ground itself. The relations between the temple-tax and the Roman tribute were settled in accordance with Jewish customs, by which all farming of the

[1] Appian. 2, 91. [2] Antiq. xvi. 6, 2, xiv. 10, 6. [3] Antiq. xiv. 8, 3; Bell. i. 10, 3.

taxes was forbidden; and at the same time the promise was given that neither should troops be levied nor Roman garrisons be stationed in Judæa. The high-priest Hyrcanus was to receive senatorial rank, bear the title of *Socius atque amicus populi Romani*, and the dignity of ethnarch be hereditary in his family. The power of life and death was also reserved to him, as well as legal decision in all questions of ritual. His resources were to consist in a claim upon the sacerdotal tithes, as the high-priests had usually possessed them. The right, moreover, of fortifying Jerusalem and restoring the walls which had been broken down by Pompeius, was again obtained by Antipater. To Antipater himself, the Roman citizen, Cæsar presented exemption from taxation for all his possessions. His appointment to the presidency of the civil administration of the entire country had already given him a position independent of the dynasty, so that consequently the dominion of the Idumæan family can be dated from the year 47.[1]

In the autumn of the same year, before Cæsar had undertaken the war in Africa against Scipio and Cato, Antipater sent an embassy to Rome, which in the name of Hyrcanus presented the senate with a golden shield, and received in return the formal confirmation of the promises of Cæsar. These were tabulated, so that when they had been engraved on brass they might be preserved in the several archives of the capital and the province. The order of execution promised the speedy despatch of the usual *decem legati* to establish the boundaries and the other points of the treaty. A series of new decrees by the Imperator were necessitated by the execution of these new arrangements.[2] From the varied nature of the concessions contained in them, and their being only partly drawn up in clauses, it is evident at the first glance that Antipater, in these transactions with the Roman commissioners, obtained the greatest concessions possible.

By the restoration of the plain of Esdraelon, the continuity of

[1] Antiq. xiv. 8, 3; Bell. i. 10, 3. [2] Antiq. xiv. 10, 1—7.

the territory was once more established, and by the restoration of Joppa the way to the sea opened. Yet in Judæa these successes of the adroit diplomatist was not received in a very friendly manner, since he had obtained for himself a previously quite unknown position. Antipater, therefore, made a visitation from place to place, in order to assure the various Sanhedrin that Hyrcanus' incapacity made it necessary that the civil administration should be placed in other hands than those of the high-priest; but the people could not be persuaded that the deposition of the Maccabees was not finally intended, and it was recounted how the well-known Essene, Menahem, had prophesied to Herod, the son of Antipater, many years ago in the public streets, that he would grow up to be the scourge of the Maccabees, and some day wear the crown of David. If this be an actual fact, the man simply spoke out earlier than others what the instinct of the people now generally felt?[1] Nevertheless, it had become impossible for Hyrcanus, even if he had had the inclination or power, to separate himself from Antipater, inasmuch as he had cast himself upon the help of this stranger in opposition to his own family. His daughter Alexandra had, on Antipater's account, lost her husband and her father-in-law by execution and murder. His nephew Antigonus lived the life of a pretender abroad; his grandsons were orphans, children of Alexander, who had fallen by the hand of the executioner. Thus had it come about that the house of the Idumæan, the stranger in the gates of Israel, stood nearer to him than his own flesh and blood.

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2. Herod's Youth.

Antipater, in accordance with the traditions of his house, had married a respectable Bedouin's daughter, the beautiful Cypros, in order to keep up the connection with the sheiks of the neigh-

[1] Antiq. xv. 10, 5.

bouring desert, through whom his father had in times past become rich and powerful. Of this marriage there had been born four sons—Phasael, Herod, Joseph and Pheroras, and one daughter, Salome.

The father, as administrator of the country, appointed Phasael commander-in-chief of the capital and its neighbourhood, in order that he might win a footing in Jerusalem itself; the second son, Herod, he sent to Galilee, in order to free the harassed population from robbers. The young Herod, then five-and-twenty years of age, was well adapted for bringing honour to his house. He was a bold rider; none on the exercise-ground hurled the javelin straighter or shot the arrow nearer to the mark than he. Even when of an age when corporeal activity is usually on the decline, he obtained more than forty head of game in one day's hunting.[1]

There is a certain romance attaching to the early life of the young Idumæan, which does not adorn its later course. His father certainly had not chosen for his first exploits the easiest seat of war. The bands of robbers that had been frightened away from the coast, had during these latter years retired to the eastern mountain range of Cœle-Syria, and thence made daring incursions into the neighbouring Roman province.[2] There does Mount Hermon tower aloft, with bare and jagged crest, eleven thousand feet high. After passing green meadow-land, thick and hardly penetrable oak forests are reached, above which begins a rocky region. The robber bands, which had never been expelled from this quarter, had during the course of the last war been strengthened by numerous fugitives and persons deprived of their property, and consequently the marauding excursions had assumed the character of a political war of reprisal. The most daring of these bandits, Hezekiah, enjoyed the sympathy, therefore, of the patriotic party in Jerusalem, which saw in him an ally against Rome. At all events, there existed among these bands a kind of patriotic, nay, even theocratic feeling, which

[1] Bell. Jud. i. 21, 13. [2] Antiq. xiv. 9, 2.

found most delight in warring against the Romans. Thus Hezekiah had the patriotism to plunder only the Roman province, and preferred to attack Gentile caravans,—a spirit which he bequeathed to his sons. Such a robber was his son Judas, who after the death of Herod stormed Sepphoris. As a robber of this kind has tradition represented him who was crucified with Jesus, and that found the Messiah upon the cross; and similar robbers were those heroes of Masada who after the termination of the Jewish war buried themselves under the ruins of their fortress.

A contest against such national religious brigands was not without political significance, and was highly approved of by the proconsul of Syria. This man, Sextus Julius Cæsar, appointed to the administration of the province by his relative the Imperator in the year 47, owed a debt of gratitude to the son of Antipater for attacking a rabble in the rear that were with difficulty approached by regular troops, and removing his source of anxiety for Damascus. Herod rose in his opinion when he took prisoner the scourge of the country, the terrible Hezekiah himself, and put him to death with his entire band. The more enraged, however, were the patriots of the capital with the young Idumæan who had brought a free Jewish man from life to death. According to the codified arrangements of Cæsar, the right of life and death had been delegated to the high-priest in order not to make Antipater quite a king. The Sanedrin, consequently, with whom Hyrcanus had shared his jurisdiction, were able to insist that without its consent Herod had had no right to pronounce sentence of death. It was demanded that Hyrcanus should call the family of Antipater to account for this transgression of their powers. Long did the high-priest hesitate. He had given his blessing when Antipater had placed his sons in positions which belonged only to the sons of princes, and the young Idumæans had won his paternal love by their flattering regard for him. Yet he was compelled to yield to the importunity of the Sanhedrin and summon Herod to their bar.

With great deliberation and circumspection Herod secured

Galilee by garrisons before answering the summons; then he collected his most trusty dependents, and advanced to Jerusalem with an imposing military escort. At the same time the proconsul of Syria despatched the demand on the part of Rome that his friend and ally should be no further molested. The Sanhedrin exhibited the greatest consternation at this manifestation, and when Herod at length appeared in the temple synagogue with his armed attendants and arrogantly demanded the pleasure of the college, a deep silence fell upon the assembly. At last Rabbi Shemaiah ventured to rise, and to upbraid in a lofty tone the boy for his arrogance, and in deepest scorn the elders for their cowardice. None would now remain behind in daring, and they would have proceeded to pass sentence of death, had not Hyrcanus dissolved the session, and advised his still-beloved young friend to leave Jerusalem. Herod departed in a rage to Damascus, in order to attach himself to the court of the Syrian proconsul. As he was a Roman citizen—quite as good a Roman as Jew—Sextus Cæsar had no hesitation in handing over to him, in consideration of a goodly sum of money, the administration of Cœle-Syria and Samaria. He was now the nearest neighbour to the lords of Jerusalem, and hastened to pay them a visit. The Jews had no troops to oppose to his army, and Antipater, who ought to have provided for the safety of the country, took the whole affair very coolly. The greatest alarm prevailed, and finally the members were compelled to accept Antipater and Phasael's offer, with the greatest gratitude, of inducing Herod to retire. Under the walls of Jerusalem, the worthy family rehearsed the history of Coriolanus, and Herod withdrew, as was to be expected, after properly terrifying the Sanhedrin and confirming the power of his own friends in Jerusalem.

In fact, the whole of Palestine was now in the hands of this house, since Antipater was procurator of Judæa, and Herod president of Samaria and Cœle-Syria. In this unsettled time, such a position could become one of great importance. The partizan of Pompeius, Quintus Cæcilius Bassus, encouraged by the

bad news which reached him of Cæsar's situation in Africa, had thrown himself upon Tyre, and sought to win the legions of the proconsul Sextus Cæsar for himself. The troops of Antipater under Phasael, and the cavalry squadrons of Samaria and Cœle-Syria under Herod, took the field on behalf of Sextus Cæsar. Bassus was defeated, but the mutinous soldiers themselves killed their proconsul in the year 46, and the two sons of Antipater had now to undertake a war for two years under most difficult circumstances. They advanced to the Orontes, where Bassus held Apamea, and successfully defended himself in alliance with the Arabs. The fortune of war wavered from this side to that even during the year 44, when tidings came from the capital of what had happened on the Ides of March. The dreadful news fell all the more like a thunderbolt from the clear sky, in that Cæsar had been immediately expected in the East. The entire work of the circumspect family seemed destroyed at one blow.[1] But the Jews of the capital were also greatly affected.[2] In Cæsar they had found a patron; in the men of the senate-party, as Cicero, the defender of the rapacious Flaccus, they found ruthless oppressors. Soon, however, affairs assumed a brighter appearance. Antonius began to play his part in the capital, and he insisted that all the arrangements of Cæsar were to remain undisturbed, for otherwise the empire would fall into irremediable confusion.[3] But although the Palestinian settlement was for the present guaranteed, yet Antipater and his sons could not escape, having, in the September of the same year, to decide between the republicans and Cæsarians; for Cassius and Dolabella appeared almost simultaneously in Asia Minor, the one to claim Syria in the name of the Senate party, the other in the name of Antonius. Antipater was friends with Antonius indeed, but at the time he could not resist the republicans. Cassius was able to put an end to the civil war before Apamea, and when the armed opposition to the new triumvirate was resolved

[1] Bell. i. 10, 10; Antiq. xiv. 11, 1; Cass. Dio, 47, 27.

[2] Suet. Cæsar, 84. [3] Appian, Bell. Civ. 2, 127.

upon, Antipater, who owed his elevation entirely to Cæsar, placed himself without a moment's hesitation at the disposal of his murderer. His son Herod was the first to obtain the smiles of the Roman,[1] by immediately furnishing the quota falling upon Galilee, of the fine of seven hundred talents inflicted upon Judæa (i.e. about £150,000). Antipater developed a corresponding activity, and where the population were unable to pay this immense sum, Cassius brought their sons and daughters to the hammer in order to make up the deficiency. When the dreaded republican left Judæa, he appointed the energetic Herod, of whose utility he had been long convinced, to be procurator of Cœle-Syria, and at the same time transferred to him the military administration of the whole of Judæa; nay, he even held out a prospect of its crown, in case his actions corresponded to the expectations of the republic.

The enemies of the Idumæan house once more found themselves disappointed in all the hopes which they had built upon the change in affairs. Cassius, indeed, had vacated Palestine in order to catch Dolabella at Laodicea, which he succeeded in doing in the summer of 43; but inasmuch as he was desirous of immediately advancing against Cleopatra, he kept possession of the coast of Palestine, so that the enemies of the Romans in Judæa were unable to move. The greater was the ferment among the masses, and a courtier, a favourite of Hyrcanus', whose name was Malichus, promoted it by all the means in his power. His plans for a popular insurrection were obstructed in the first place by the presence of the Idumæans, and in the next place by the imprisonment of his son, who was confined at Tyre as a Roman hostage. The determined demagogue proceeded by degrees. As Antipater was feasting with Hyrcanus, shortly before the feast of Tabernacles in the year 43, the cupbearer presented him with a cup of wine which Malichus had poisoned.

Thus died the clever Idumæan, of whom testimony must be borne that he rendered great services to his country in very

[1] Bell. Jud. i. 11, 2.

arduous times. That Judæa was not yet altogether a Roman province, and that Hyrcanus still ruled, was the doing, essentially, of Antipater; but it was his doing also that the Romans had been able so easily to effect an entrance into Judæa, and that the state of the Maccabees had gone to its grave so silently. It is in accord with the characteristics of that family, that Phasael and Herod feigned a friendship for the murderer of their father, and declared before all the people that no suspicion attached to him, because they did not feel that at first they were powerful enough to deal with him. It was only necessary for him to plant the standard of insurrection, and all the ungovernable elements in the nation would be upon his side; and he was already on the point of so doing. Therefore did they proceed at first hand in hand. It was not until Cassius at Laodicea, after defeating Dolabella, invited all the sovereigns of the neighbourhood to his court, and Hyrcanus therefore proceeded there by way of Tyre, that an opportunity for revenge presented itself. Malichus, also, went to Tyre at the same time, in order to bring away his son who was imprisoned there. Here Herod paid him back in his own coin. Again did Hyrcanus give a feast, and this time Malichus was invited. As soon as he had fallen into the trap, the tribune was sent for whom Cassius had appointed to murder him. Upon the way home the enemy of Rome was stabbed, and the weak Hyrcanus kissed the hands of his new master, while cursing the slain man as his tyrant and the destroyer of his country.

But when, in the autumn of 43, the seat of war moved further west, at once fresh revolts broke out in Judæa. Herod lay sick in Damascus at the Roman general's there, one Fabius, from whom he hoped to be able to obtain support. Phasael struggled in Jerusalem with the enemies of the Romans, whilst in the south a brother of Malichus's had prepared the towns, among them the fortress Masada, for revolt. Only after the recovery of Herod were the brothers able, partly by force and partly by friendly promises, to induce the people to lay down their arms.

Meanwhile, however, new complications occurred which could have been least expected. Whilst the alarm of war was retiring farther and farther away into the district, those whom Cassius regarded as his reserve forces began quarrelling among themselves. Antigonus, the late candidate for the throne rejected by Cæsar, had found reception in the court of Ptolemæus Mennæus —on account of his sister's beauty—who had erected a rich and powerful robber-kingdom. With the money of his brother-in-law Ptolemæus, Antigonus bribed Fabius not to interfere when he attacked Hyrcanus and Herod, whilst on the west Marion, prince of Tyre, should descend upon Galilee. But with his usual daring celerity, Herod threw himself between both parties, repulsed Marion of Tyre and compelled him to make peace, and then marched at once against Antigonus, and so thoroughly defeated him upon the frontier of Judæa, that he was not able to contemplate another invasion for a long time. A fugitive, Antigonus returned to the kingdom of his brother-in-law, and after his opponents had cemented their union with Rome more closely, all that remained for him was to trust to the Parthians. In Jerusalem the weak Hyrcanus, to whom the house of Aristobulus had become the incarnation of all that was terrible, received the victorious Herod with childish gratitude, and the Idumæan made due use of the occasion. He was already married, to be sure, to a certain Doris,[1] who had borne him his eldest son, Antipater; but he considered that it would be very desirable for him to be united to MARIAMNE, daughter of the Alexander whom Pompeius had put to death. Hyrcanus could not refuse the hand of his granddaughter to the man who had just delivered him from the hands of Antigonus, and thus the family of Antipater stood at the threshold of their hopes, for this royal relationship could only be the prelude to new honours. Doris wandered away in exile, and brought up her son Antipater hating the

[1] In the Bell. Jud. i. 12, 3, Josephus called her of *noble* race; in Antiq. xiv. 12, 1, of *plebeian* origin.

Maccabean family, in favour of whom her young husband had so despicably separated himself from her.

At the beginning of the year 42, the catastrophe occurred in the plain of Philippi which could have been foreseen from the beginning. At once the hopes of the Jewish patriots were renewed. Cassius' premature suicide converted the half-won victory of the triumvirs into a decisive day of almost unlimited consequences. In the treaty following the battle, Antonius undertook to raise the sums of money promised to the soldiers. He turned to Asia in order to proscribe forced contributions and to negotiate princedoms.[1] When he had pitched his camp in Bithynia, ambassadors from the former republican party appeared upon all sides. Among them was a deputation from the Jewish people to protest against the government of the brothers. But, on the other hand, there was Herod, the constant representative of those inclined to the Romans; moreover, he had better provided himself with money. Antonius, on his part, hated the Jews; moreover, he possessed a vivid feeling for fellowship, and at once received Herod as the son of his former brother in arms, with whom eighteen years before he had won his first battle against the very people who were now accusing the son.

Hyrcanus, who had been summoned, now appeared in Ephesus, and gave his testimony on behalf of the sons of Antipater, who knew how to make the most of the circumstance that Judæa had been so grievously oppressed by the creatures of Cassius, Marion of Tyre, and Fabius of Syria. Not only were things allowed to remain in statu quo, but the council of Tyre also caused the territory to be restored to the Jews, which Herod had been obliged to leave in the hands of Marion in order to be able to turn more quickly against Antigonus.

[1] Dio Cass. 48, 24.

3. Antonius and Cleopatra.

The great scandal of Roman history, the world-renowned love intrigue between Antonius and Cleopatra, which took place at this time, affected few countries more seriously than it did Judæa. The ancients called this intrigue Antonius' great overthrow, in that from an acute statesman and chivalrous general it made him a capricious and unreliable despot, under whose régime the East was well nigh ruined. Antonius' was one of those undisciplined natures produced by times of revolution; a man of energetic disposition, but, growing up neglected in the disordered and immoral world of Rome, unrestrained in his passions, and, notwithstanding all his force of will, wanting in moral firmness.

He had as young cavalry officer first seen Cleopatra,—who at that time, though only fourteen years of age, had manifest fondness for the son of Pompeius,—when, in the escort of Gabinius, he had conducted her father, Ptolemæus Auletes, to Alexandria. Afterwards he had been one of the Roman nobles who had most zealously paid homage to the lovely daughter of the Lagides when residing, from the year 46 to 44 B.C., in the villa on the further side of the Tiber in Cæsar's garden. After Cæsar's death he had rendered her services, and tried to introduce her son Cæsarion to the heirs of the murdered Cæsar.[1] Then it had happened to her as it had done to Herod,—she had been compelled to declare war against Antonius because Cassius' camp was nearer than that of Dolabella. Antonius could not forego summoning her before his judgment-seat to answer for herself. Negociating crowns and levying fines had he come in the summer of 41 to Tarsus in Cilicia, afterwards the birthplace of the Apostle Paul. He was seated in his tribunal in the marketplace of the town, situated upon the river Cydnus, when the queen was announced. The dissolute Ptolemæan had always chosen some peculiar manner of introducing herself to her

[1] Plutarch, Antonius, 25; Suet. Cæsar, 52.

judges. In her first audience with the great Cæsar, she had ordered herself to be carried into his chambers enveloped in a carpet and bound up with ribbons.[1] Now she literally presented herself before Antonius in the public market. As Aphrodite, surrounded by boys as cupids and maidens as nereids, she sailed up the Cydnus in an open galley, in order to comply with the command of the Imperator to appear in the market-place of Tarsus.[2] It is well known how speedily the fatal woman, who was at that time in her twenty-eighth year and at the very height of her beauty, ensnared the impassioned soldier. His worst deeds date from the year 41, the one in which he met her. He now caused her sister Arsinoë, who was in Miletus, to be dragged from her temple and stabbed; and held a court for instituting criminal charges against all the enemies of the fair Egyptian. She herself hurried, with well-calculated speed, back to Alexandria; but Antonius now had only one thought—Cleopatra and Alexandria. In this impatient temper, anxious only to obtain money and treasure, did the Imperator approach the Jewish question.

In the garden of Daphne, at Antioch, on the charming banks of the Orontes, there appeared in the autumn of 41 a hundred deputies of the noblest families of Judæa, in order to protest against the transference of the government of their country into the hands of Phasael and Herod. On their assuming the appearance of hindering him, Antonius had fifteen thrown into prison, and would have put them to death had not Herod pleaded for them. In order to bring the matter to an end as speedily as possible, the two sons of Antipater were in due form appointed tetrarchs. The more, therefore, was Antonius enraged when he found at Tyre, instead of a hundred deputies, a thousand, who with the obstinate fanatical cry which the Jewish populace always so well understood, demanded the removal of the brothers. He immediately let loose the troops upon them, and when they created fresh disturbances in the town had all the

[1] Plutarch, Cæsar, 49. [2] Plutarch, Antonius, 26.

prisoners put to death. Certainly he was now no longer molested, and was able to pay his visit to Cleopatra at the commencement of the cool season of the year.

Throughout the whole extent of Judaism, including the Alexandrians, a deep despondency prevailed at the turn affairs had taken; and just as the visit of Pompeius is reflected in the Psalms of Solomon as the answer of a poet to the Roman arrogance, so now the impression created by the conduct of Antonius finds expression in a short oracle which was put into circulation at that time by an Alexandrian Jew. This oracle is to be found in the third book of the Sibylline Oracles, and announces that the second triumvirate would be the limit of the advent of Messiah.[1]

"But on the day when Rome also reigns over Egypt,
And her rule is extended thus far off, then of the kingdoms,
The greatest appears upon earth, the reign of the king who's immortal.
And in holiness comes a lord who will govern all countries,
All the earth, air, and through all ages without end."

In Palestine, also, did the excitement run high. After the sanguinary installation into office which it had pleased Antonius to effect, the two tetrarchs, Phasael and Herod, could count upon few loyal subjects, and moreover a storm was brewing in the East which promised their sovereignty a very short continuance. Since they had sold themselves to the Romans, the exiled Maccabean prince conspired the more zealously with the Parthians. And thus from this quarter was the blow threatening to fall.

The republican Labienus, son of Titus Labienus, had already betaken himself to Ctesiphon, commissioned by Brutus and Cassius, in order to form an alliance with the Parthians on behalf of the republicans. Orodes had long hesitated, but now the report spread that the Parthians were preparing for war. In

[1] Sibylline Oracles, iii. 46—62. The verses 63—92, which Friedlieb, in his Einleitung, xxvi., removes, belong evidently to a much later time, as they clearly are in agreement with the Apocalypse and 2 Thessal. ii.

Jerusalem there was the greatest alarm, for the frontier along the Euphrates was not covered, and Syria was yet completely garrisoned by the republicans, who were not to be relied upon.[1] The decision of Antonius upon circumstances of such exceptional gravity was awaited with much impatience; but in Alexandria a whirl of feasts and other festivities prevailed, just as though it were a universal peace that was being celebrated. The most extraordinary proceedings were reported as taking place at the court there. The queen diced, hunted, drank with the soldiers; she took part in street-rows by night; she drank pearls in order to make the expense of one feast equal to the sum of ten million sesterces she had wagered it should; she had foreign dried fish attached to Antonius' hook when fishing; at one of her festivities, the senator Plancus danced as Glaucus naked, painted a sea-blue, his head being girt with sea-weed, while he crawled along upon his knees dragging a tail behind him.[2] The common people knew that in the palace the most costly dishes had always to be ready, as the cook never knew when the meals would be required to be served. The grandfather of Plutarch had himself seen eight wild boars on the spit at once in various stages of preparation, so that there should always be one ready for the table, whatever might be the hour it was needed.

Antonius did not trouble himself when the news reached him that Labienus, who had taken the for him singular name of Parthicus, had invaded Syria, and that Pacorus, son of the Orodes who had conquered Crassus, had crossed the Euphrates with his general, Barzapharnes. He left it to the proconsul Saxa to defend Syria. Thus things continued until the Perusian war, which Fulvia had contrived in order to draw her husband away from the society of Cleopatra, compelled him to encounter Octavianus in Greece in the spring of the year 40. Meanwhile the towns of Phœnicia and Syria passed, with the exception of Tyre, collectively into the hands of Labienus, and the Parthians overran Asia Minor. The two tetrarchs of Judæa were thus

[1] Cass. Dio, 48, 25. [2] Plutarch, Antonius, 29; Vell. Pat. ii. 83.

subjected, without either means of defence or assistance, to an invasion of the Parthians.

And now the ghost of that dynastic question which had been haunting the court for the last thirty years without coming to rest, appeared once more, as though it had arisen from some old long deserted churchyard to trouble Hyrcanus. ANTIGONUS came from Chalcis—where he had resided for some time past with Lysanias, the son of his brother-in-law Ptolemæus—to the camp of Pacorus, and promised him one thousand talents and five hundred women if he would obtain for him the crown of Judæa. The Parthian prince accepted the offer. Moreover, it was a political necessity for the Parthian dynasty not to have friends to the Romans upon its frontiers. The population also preferred the Parthian dominion to the Roman. At Carmel, Antigonus was greeted as king with shouts of joy, and he hastened with the speed of a pretender immediately to Jerusalem, where he at once gained over a portion of the inhabitants. The brothers were able to drive him and his followers into the temple, and in this way to shut them up; but in the town itself contests took place daily in the streets, and it was with alarm that the feast of Pentecost was awaited, when the whole population of the country usually presented themselves in Jerusalem. This fear was the best avowal of the affection entertained for the brothers in the country. In fact, they were besieged by the people flocking to the town in the palace of the kings; but while Phasael guarded the citadel, Herod committed havoc amongst the poorly-armed peasants with his troopers, and drove them terrified before him, as though they were a flock of sheep, through the streets of the city. Then appeared the cup-bearer of the Parthian prince with five hundred horsemen before the walls, and Antigonus urged Phasael to admit him as mediator for peace. Although Herod strongly tried to dissuade him, Phasael nevertheless opened his gates, and was persuaded by the promises of the Parthians to depart to their head-quarters to Barzapharnes, in company with Hyrcanus as negociator. Only one troop of two hundred and

ten noble Parthians, termed freemen, remained in the town. The enemy insisted upon Hyrcanus accompanying them at the same time as Phasael, but on the way all alike were treated with Parthian hospitality. In Galilee they found the inhabitants under arms, for they regarded the Parthians as their allies against the Romans. It was only when they had turned aside at Achsib, near Ptolemais, that the prisoners perceived that their road was guarded at night by Parthian outposts, and accidentally Phasael overheard a conversation in which the greater part of their women were promised by Antigonus to the Parthians as the price of their help. It was yet possible for Phasael to escape, but he would not leave the aged Hyrcanus behind, and he therefore preferred, after sending warning to Herod, to upbraid Barzapharnes himself for his perfidy. The satrap swore by all most sacred that Phasael was troubling himself by baseless suspicions; but scarcely had he left them when the guards seized Phasael and Hyrcanus, gagged them, and threw them into prison. The attempt was made at the same time to decoy Herod before the town and make him prisoner; but he had been already warned. Whilst keeping the Parthians at bay, he mounted his wives, his mother, his bride Mariamne, Alexandra and her son Aristobulus, and the wives and children of his brothers, upon mules, and at night struck upon the path, with this unwieldy caravan, over the Dead Sea to the fortress of Masada, where Joseph the younger brother had already prepared a refuge for them.[1] By an adventurous course, surrounded by Parthian horsemen, at times in open contest with the revolted Jews, but also strengthened by friends who flocked to his aid, Herod advanced through the valley of Hinnom to the desert of Judah. Detained by the pursuit of the enemy on the heights of the pass, he defended himself in one of the defiles, in which it was possible for a handful of courageous men to keep back a whole army, and occupied the enemy until the caravan had passed the road which descends precipitously to the Dead Sea, and under

[1] Antiq. xiv. 13, 10; 15, 2.

the walls of the fortress Thresa on the one side and those of Masada on the other, had no longer any occasion to fear pursuit.

His experience of the importance of this pass was the occasion of Herod afterwards building the magnificent fortress of Herodium here, in which he was buried after death. The governor of Masada, who had meanwhile advanced to succour his own friends, insisted that the train-bands should be dismissed as too numerous for the little fortress. Herod despatched the troops to his Idumæan friends. His ladies he placed in safety in the fortress, and then determined that he would himself apply for help from the Arab prince Malchus. He had also counted on assistance from the sheiks of Mount Seir and the plains of Idumæa, with whom he had had commercial transactions which dated from the times of his father and grandfather. But since these sheiks foresaw that in his present circumstances Herod would want to collect all outstanding moneys, they persuaded Malchus to dismiss him on the frontier.

Meantime in Jerusalem the Parthians had thrown off the mask, plundered the city, and swept through the country, burning all before them, while everywhere they proclaimed Antigonus king. In the camp, Hyrcanus was the first to kneel to the new sovereign and beseech him for mercy. But Antigonus bit off the old man's ears with his own teeth in order to render him incapable of ever exercising the high-priesthood again, and sent him a prisoner beyond the Euphrates. Phasael escaped further ill-usage by voluntary death; as no weapons had been left him, he dashed his head against the walls of his prison. Antigonus now dispersed those garrisons of Herod which did not yield to him of their own accord, armed the country, and assumed, as coins struck by him prove, the proudest of the Maccabean titles: "Mattathias, High-priest, King Antigonus."[1] His position seemed not unfavourable. Aided with money by his nephew Lysanias, the new governor of Libanon, in alliance with the Parthians and

[1] Eckhel. doc. num. 3, 480; "Mattit jahw."

Arabians, he had prospects of maintaining himself. Yet he was not able to conquer Masada, which Joseph defended with success for two years until Herod came to his relief. The Parthians, moreover, were permitted to ill-treat the people most barbarously: mounted upon their small horses of the steppes, they swept in troops through the country, ravishing the women, mutilating the men, burning down whole towns, and torturing the defenceless inhabitants with fiendish cruelty. The remembrance of these swarms of horsemen had not been extinguished a hundred years after, and although between the years 38 B.C. to 68 A.D., not a single Parthian had slaked his horse's thirst in the Jordan, yet John, in the year 68 A.D., in his Apocalypse, introduces these troops of horsemen with the locusts, as those plagues which at the last judgment would destroy a third part of mankind.[1]

Meanwhile Herod continued his wanderings as a fugitive, accompanied by a small retinue and the seven-year-old son of Phasael, whom he had wished to leave with the Arab king as a pledge for the ransom of the father. All the negociations with the Idumæan sheiks becoming fruitless, he turned to Egypt. The first night he remained in a temple upon the frontier, where several friends joined the caravan; then they proceeded through the Idumæan steppes to Rhinocorura. It was only through the interposition of the city magistrates that in Pelusium the fugitives were enabled to persuade a sea-captain to carry them across to Alexandria, where, however, Antonius was no longer to be found. The latter had departed in the beginning of the year 40 to Tyre, and thence to Greece. Cleopatra, however, received the interesting stranger in a very friendly manner, and immediately prepared a most splendid reception for him. She even tried to attach him to herself personally, and win him for her general of the Egyptian troops for the approaching Parthian war; but Herod cherished higher aims, and in spite of the autumn gales took ship for the capital. At Rhodes he suffered

[1] Rev. ix. 15, &c.

shipwreck. With borrowed money he built a new trireme, and late in the year 40 arrived at Brundisium, whence he immediately hastened to Rome. The Perusinian disturbances, after the death of Fulvia, had been put down by the legions refusing any longer to destroy one another. Antonius took Octavia as his wife, and the reconciled opponents entered the capital shortly before Herod. Both received the active partizan in a most friendly manner. Antonius, who had squandered his money in Asia instead of adding to it, was prepared to sell the crown of Judæa, while Octavianus was most cordially disposed towards the man whose father had formerly rendered such signal service to the great Cæsar in Alexandria. In the senate, Messala and Atratinus were retained to plead on behalf of Herod, and in fact all approved of placing the head of a family so devoted to Rome as king in Judæa, where in the approaching Parthian war it was impossible to leave Antigonus upon the throne, inasmuch as he had been installed by the Parthians. The decree of the senate was unanimous: Herod was elevated to the rex socius in Judæa, and, accompanied by Octavianus, Antonius, and the consuls Caius Asinius Pollio and Cneus Domitius Calvinus, presented the usual sacrifice to Jupiter Capitolinus. On the following day was king Herod the guest of Antonius. The favour of the duumvirs made it possible for Herod to quit the expensive ground of the capital upon the seventh day. He had come there a fugitive official, he returned an installed king.

These seven days, however, with their brilliant results, were the source not only of his power, but also of the misfortunes which ever attended him from this time forth, as punishment for the wrong which he initiated against the house of Hyrcanus. For although Hyrcanus was rendered incapable of being high-priest, yet he was not of being ethnarch. Besides Hyrcanus, however, there was his grandson ARISTOBULUS still at hand, the younger brother of Mariamne who was affianced to Herod. Although it was quite certain that the Romans would have entrusted the sceptre of Judæa neither to the old man nor to the boy, the people

did not the less hate "the slave of the Asmoneans"[1] on that account, who by the aid of the Gentiles had lusted after the throne of the Maccabees.

Antigonus, however, had done little during his reign of a year and a half to confirm his authority. He had been compelled to quietly witness the ill-usage of his country by the Parthians; he had not succeeded in conquering Masada. In Galilee, bands of robbers had everywhere established themselves in caves, even in the rocks of Arbela, scarcely three miles distance across the lake of Gennesareth, so that the condition of Galilee called to mind that of Trachonitis and Iturea. Even the Rabbis and the members of the Sanhedrin who had always upheld the side of the Maccabees against the sons of the Idumæan, were now but lukewarm. Thus an account of what occurred on one of the days of Atonement, when Antigonus was officiating as high-priest, is full of significance. According to custom, the people were accompanying him after the temple service was over in procession back to his palace. On the way they happened to meet the two Rabbis, Abtalion and Shemaiah, who had once so boldly denounced Herod, when the people at once left their high-priest standing, and attached themselves to their two teachers, whom they deemed more worthy of such an honour.[2]

The people being in this mood, it can be easily understood that when Herod was elevated to be king, Antigonus declared that he was willing to surrender the crown either to his uncle Hyrcanus or his nephew Aristobulus, but not to the Idumæan upstart who was neither prince nor Jew.[3] Only thus was he able to retain the other party under his banner.

[1] His appellation in the Talmud. Sanh. 19 ab. Baba bathra, 3 b.

[2] Joma, 72.

[3] Antiq. xiv. 15, 2.

4. Herod conquers his Kingdom.

When Antonius settled with his new wife in Athens in the autumn of the year 39 B.C., in order that he might again attend somewhat more closely to the affairs of his province, Asia Minor had been in great measure already freed from the Parthians. Whilst the Lord of the East was appearing among his Hellenic followers dressed as Bacchus in a saffron-coloured toga and crowned with ivy, and celebrating his marriage with Minerva in Athens,[1] his braver legate P. Ventidius was sweeping the troops of Labienus Parthicus before him. The battle took place in the Taurus, where the Parthians were utterly defeated. Ventidius now commissioned Popedius Silo to storm the passes of Amarus and open a road into Syria; but the latter suffered a thorough defeat; whereupon Ventidius undertook the task himself, and sent his incompetent lieutenant into Palestine, in order to assist Herod against Antigonus.

Here Silo's military achievements were not more brilliant. He accepted bribes from Antigonus, and gave a most dilatory support to Herod. But Herod was himself competent to conduct the war. He stormed Joppa, and as soon as he had secured his retreat to the coast carried succour to his brother and bride in Masada. Now he blockaded Jerusalem: Silo loitered slowly after him. When before Jerusalem, the latter determined to retire because there was a scarcity of provisions. Herod was compelled to provide him with supplies and bribe his officers and soldiers, or else the bold legate would have already betaken himself to his winter quarters. Now he remained; but instead of taking any real part in the siege, he allowed his soldiers to plunder Jericho; so that this outrage was also ascribed to the new king.

After this heroic accomplishment he was to be detained no longer; he quartered his army upon the new subjects of Herod, by which means they were most shamefully impoverished. No-

[1] Vell. Pat. ii. 82.

thing remained for Herod but raising the siege and undertaking a guerilla war against the robbers who had troubled him in the rear, and more especially formed the most dangerous resource of insurrection. After confiding his mother and bride to the care of his friends in Samaria, he proceeded to the highlands. Whilst the Romans were revelling in their winter quarters, the king arrived in a great snow-storm at Sepphoris, which the garrison of Antigonus at once vacated. Then he cleared the country of the bands of robbers, with the exception of the caves near the village of Arbela, of which he was not able to gain possession. Fortunately for Herod, the money of Antigonus was now exhausted, and Silo declared at once that he was ready to take the field again; but to Herod's joy, Ventidius, who was yet in Syria, commanded him to return in order to follow up the Parthian war. Silo's deeds remained unpunished; for Ventidius, even before receiving orders from Antonius, considered it far preferable to fine Antigonus in a sum of money instead of deposing him.[1]

In the spring of 38, Antonius once more betook himself to Italy, while Ventidius used his troops against the Parthians: Herod therefore applied himself with his whole energy to attacking the caves. In this his younger brothers Joseph and Pheroras assisted him, displaying the military talents which distinguished the whole family. Their most difficult task was the storming of Beth-Arbel in Galilee.

This rocky retreat lay close to the lake of Gennesareth, a mile and a half above Magdala. A high vertical cliff borders the valley (Wady el-Hamâm) through which the stream of Magdala runs. In these cliffs there are caves of very considerable size, such as are peculiar to limestone, connected by passages which had been widened for convenience. The external approaches, on the other hand, had been contracted by building walls or else closed altogether, and where the almost vertical cliffs permitted, narrow bastions had been thrown out for protection. The steep rocks protected this castle of caves from above; from below there was

[1] Bell. Jud. i. 15, 2; Cass. Dio, 48, 41.

only one narrow footpath, which a boy could protect by simply hurling down stones. The caves could contain some six hundred persons, and cisterns hewn in the ground provided the inmates with a supply of water which could not be cut off.

Even at the present day, travellers as they gaze at this natural fortress, which has remained unaltered, are astounded at the task which Herod had to accomplish.[1]

Here the robbers were living with their wives and children, provided with an abundant supply of provisions. From below no attack manifestly could be made; the king therefore went round the caves, and suddenly appeared with his troops on the top of the cliffs above the entrance. After preparations which were unintelligible to the barbarians, he placed beams projecting beyond the precipice, from which huge cages or baskets were lowered by means of iron chains. In these aerial barks the troops were let down to the mouths of the caves, whose inhabitants, terrified, retired to the interior. But the soldiers followed them there, set fire to their hoard of provisions, shot down the robbers in crowds with their arrows, and all who attempted to escape from the suffocating smoke by the entrance, they caught by long hooks and hurled down the precipice. By the second day the survivors submitted, with the exception of one hoary bandit who preferred death; having first thrown his wife and children, he then threw himself into the valley below, hurling insults at Herod on account of his mean origin, and declaring that he was no king, but slave.

The news of the terrible action of the king quickly cleared the other caves of their inhabitants. The brigands retired to the marshes between Panium and the sea of Merom, and occupied the fortified places surrounding Hermon. But even here Herod knew how to track them out, and put an end to brigandage in Galilee for ever.

[1] Robinson, Palestine, ii. 398; Burckhardt, Reise in Syria, p. 574; 1 Maccabees ix. 2; Antiq. xiv. 15, 4, 5; Vita, Jos. § 37; Bell. Jud. ii. 20, 6; Hosea x. 14; Jos. Antiq. xii. 11, 1; Bell. Jud. i. 16, 2—4.

Meanwhile the Parthians had been defeated at the chief seat of the war on the Euphrates, and Pacorus himself had fallen on the 8th of June, 38 B.C. Ventidius consequently again despatched a legate, Machæras, with two legions against Antigonus; but the latter regarded the war in Judæa with the same eyes as Silo, merely as an opportunity of acquiring wealth, and took money from Antigonus;[1] but when, in consequence of some misunderstanding, he had been attacked by the insurgents, he at once proceeded through the country, burning all before him, raging alike against friend and foe. Herod was reduced by this assistance from his Roman friends to utter despair. He declared to Machæras that if he, the latter, did not act more reasonably, he would himself go to Antonius—who then was besieging king Antiochus of Commagene in Samosata, in the year 38—and inform him of the doings of his auxiliaries. At last no other course remained possible. Antonius, who was fighting with Antiochus without much result before the walls of Samosata, received the king of his own creation in a most friendly manner. By his advice, Antonius concluded a sham treaty with his opponent, thus giving him an opportunity of retreating with credit. Before returning to Italy, the latter transferred the command of Syria to Caius Sosius, this time with earnest orders to put an end to the sovereignty of Antigonus.[2]

Such were Herod's prospects when, arriving at lovely Daphne near Antioch, the news reached him that his brother Joseph had fallen a victim of the war. Again had the Roman assistance been fatal. With Roman recruits which had only been raised in Syria, Joseph had offered battle to the generals of Antigonus at Jericho, and suffered a great defeat. He himself was among the fallen. Insurrection had immediately broken out again in Galilee, and all the notorious adherents of Herod had been drowned in the sea of Gennesareth. In Judæa, too, all his enemies were again astir. Herod at once rushed upon the obsti-

[1] Antiq. xiv. 15, 7.

[2] Dio Cass. 49, 22, who places these circumstances in the year 38.

nate country with all his impetuous ferocity. The followers of the Maccabees were swept like chaff before him; in a few days Galilee, the valley of the Jordan and Jericho were once more in his power. At Cana he routed the troops of Antigonus, and had the winter permitted he would immediately have stormed Jerusalem. With the exception of Jerusalem, which was strictly blockaded, the entire country might now be considered subject to him.

It was for the first time that the king enjoyed a winter's rest. He had earned it in a two years' war that he had waged with treacherous allies against a fanatical people that contended every village and every cavern, and had won with recruits that were not yet able to exercise, veterans who had forgotten their manœuvres, and Iturean mercenaries who did not know how to use his artillery.[1] It shows the whole genius and almost superhuman energy of this man, that he came out as victor in such a war. When the milder part of the year began, he commenced preparations for besieging his capital. Before he began, however, he judged it politically advisable to complete his marriage with Hyrcanus' granddaughter. As soon as the environment of the town was completed, and walls and turrets begun by competent workmen, he left the care of the intrenchment works to his officers, and hastened into Samaria in order to marry the niece of his enemy. The Samaritans had played a most memorable part in this war, and in order to prevent the restoration of the Maccabean dynasty, had manifested at once great readiness to make sacrifices and also faithfulness towards Herod. He had immediately at the beginning of the war placed his bride and the other members of his family for safety in Samaria; a sign that he felt certain of the Samaritans, and knew that he had conducted the administration of the country—which had been conferred upon him first by Sextus Cæsar and afterwards by Cassius—to the satisfaction of its inhabitants. When Silo asserted that he was in want of provisions, the fruitful Samaria was ready to supply

[1] Bell. i. 17, 1—3; Antiq. xiv. 15, 3, 4, 10.

corn, wine, oil, cattle, and other necessaries in abundance. Here also had he provided winter quarters for the Romans, and when it seemed likely that he would have to fight it out with Machæras himself, it had been to Samaria that he had retired.[1]

Thus it happened, then, that he celebrated the important festival of his marriage with the daughter of the Maccabees also with the Samaritans in Samaria. The marriage festivities and winter's rest, however, had not prevented his bringing up his army to thirty thousand men, and as the legions of Sosius had now advanced through Phœnicia, he was able to re-commence his sanguinary task immediately after his marriage in the spring of 37 B.C. His own troops were partly Samaritans,[2] partly Jewish followers;[3] there were also his connections the wild Idumæans, under their sheik Costobar;[4] and finally a large number of mercenaries from Phœnicia and Lebanon.[5]

In Jerusalem poor provision had been made for such an energetic siege. In the city, moreover, it was still prevalent for the people to follow the Rabbis instead of obeying their King. In spite of the war, the great mass of the people had observed the current Sabbatical year and left their fields unploughed; the consequence was that the majority of the families were not provided with provisions for enduring a long siege.[6] The two Rabbis Abtalion and Shemaiah, the revered oracles of the city, openly preached that the people must surrender and bow to the decree of Jehovah, which Shemaiah had foretold even in the year 47.[7] Others, on the other hand, insisted that Jehovah would not leave his temple without help, and would interfere to deliver it with a miracle.[8] This fanatical party was under the leadership of the sons of Babas, who was related to the Maccabees—men beloved by the people and the soul of the opposition to Herod. In other respects, the command of the fortifications was held by

[1] Antiq. xiv. 15, 14.
[2] Antiq. xiv. 15, 3.
[3] Antiq. xiv. 15, 1; Bell. Jud. i. 17, 6.
[4] Antiq. xv. 7, 10.
[5] Antiq. xiv. 15, 11.
[6] Antiq. xiv. 16, 2.
[7] Antiq. xv. 1, 1.
[8] Antiq. xiv. 16, 2.

the Rabbis, as was evident to the Romans from several very amusing incidents.

The besiegers followed the plan adopted by Pompeius in the previous campaign, throwing up a causeway to the north of the temple mount in order to make a breach there. Meanwhile the daily sacrifices continued in the temple, although there was dire need of provisions in the city. When the lowest court of the temple had been taken by the Romans, with the lower city, an embassy appeared asking for a free passage for the beasts for sacrifice which had to be brought to the temple daily. Herod persuaded Sosius to grant this request, because he had to respect the feelings of his own army.[1] Yet more surprising to Sosius, however, was the request of the prisoners that they might be allowed to visit the temple on the Sabbath in order to fulfil their religious duties, although it was at this time used only as a fortress.[2] In obtaining possession of the outer courts of the temple, several of the wooden cells were set on fire, and each party endeavoured to cast the blame of the occurrence upon the other.

Thus was it once more a Sabbath upon which the besieged, not expecting an assault upon the sanctuary, allowed themselves to be taken by surprise, curiously enough, upon the same day of the month Siwan (10th of June) on which Pompeius had conquered the temple. From the temple the legions descended and stormed the city. Whilst the battle was raging in the streets, Antigonus' courage deserted him; he left the castle and threw himself at Sosius' feet. The latter called him for such effeminate conduct Antigone, and had him carried to the camp. It was with difficulty Herod prevented the Romans inspecting the interior of the temple, which, as Josephus thought, would have been more disastrous for the fate of his crown than the greatest defeat;[3] but whilst he hunted some out of the temple sword in hand, others commenced plundering in the city below. It was only after some delay that Sosius could be persuaded to exchange

[1] Antiq. xiv. 16, 2. [2] Cass. Dio, 49, 22. [3] Bell. Jud. i. 18, 3.

the results of a general plunder for the round sum of money down which was willingly paid by Herod. A weight was lifted from his heart when his Roman allies at length commenced their march back to Antioch. One care alone now possessed him: it was possible that the senate might pardon Antigonus in the end, in order if necessary to use the latter against himself. He therefore overwhelmed Sosius with letters, in which he declared that not even the halter could compel the captured followers of the Maccabee to recognize him as king. Sosius therefore did what had never before been done by the Romans to any king—had Antigonus bound to a stake, scourged, and then beheaded. The world then and afterwards was astounded at this barbarous exercise of the rights of war.[1] Herod, however, was happy that he had now laid Antigonus in the same grave with Aristobulus and Alexander.

Thus died the last of the eight royal high-priests of the house of the Asmoneans—that had ruled for now a hundred and twenty-six years—by a slave's death at the hand of the executioner. The alliance with the Parthians had sealed the final destruction of this illustrious family. Now Herod was at last king. His first task was to clear Jerusalem of all enemies whom he could not hope to reconcile. He had not been in the school of the Roman triumvirate to no purpose, and following their method he at once published a list of proscribed persons, before the execution of which no one was to leave the city. At the head stood the sons of Babas, who had opposed Herod with such vehemence, and on account of their relationship to the fallen royal house could become a source of danger to his throne.[2] They, however, were nowhere to be found. The sheik of the Idumæans, Costobar, had concealed them, in order that, in case it should be advisable, he might use the idolized leaders of the people in opposition to Herod. Herod had a suspicion of his plan, but could produce no proofs against the oaths of the daring

[1] Strabo in Jos. Antiq. xv. 1, 2; Cass. Dio, 49, 22.

[2] Antiq. xv. 7, 10.

Idumæan.[1] The more of the members, therefore, of the opposite party must fall, since he could not find its head. Ever deeper had he to advance in blood; for scarcely had Sosius withdrawn when Antonius presented his demands and claimed his share of the booty.

For Antonius had at this time once more fallen into the nets of Cleopatra. He had begun the long-delayed Parthian expedition by inviting to his head-quarters in Laodicea the fair Egyptian whose assistance certainly he needed.

The results of this restoration of their intimate relations at once made themselves felt by the surrounding sovereigns in demands for almost impossible sums of money. Herod had to meet these claims with an empty treasury at the end of a costly war; his country was overspread with ruins and still smoking ashes; and moreover it was the Sabbatical year, in which the king, according to the Jewish constitution confirmed also by Cæsar, might raise no taxes.[2] No other course remained open, therefore, than that of making the proscription begun into a measure for raising money for his treasury, just as Octavianus and Antonius had also done. Forty-five of the richest of his enemies were executed, and their property so strictly exacted, that search was made even in their coffins at the city gate in order to see whether gold or jewels were being carried away in them. Others were glad to escape with the confiscation of their property. "Everywhere there was extortion and oppression without end," declares Josephus. That all this was done, however, not for Herod's own private enrichment, is proved by the fact that he had to suffer the whole of the crown treasures of the Maccabees to be taken to Laodicea.

This all happened while the land, in consequence of the distress occasioned by the war, was bleeding from a thousand wounds. Galilee had been exhausted by the banditti; entire towns, as Lydda, Thamna, Gophna and Emmaus, lay deserted,

[1] Antiq. xv. 7, 10. [2] Antiq. xiv. 10, 6.

since Cassius had sold their inhabitants for slaves.[1] Marissa had been burned down by the Parthians,[2] Jericho had endured many conquests and plunderings, and five towns in its neighbourhood lay in ashes.[3] The worst of all, however, was that the king, in order to appease Cleopatra, was compelled ever to inflict new wounds, instead of healing those that were bleeding.

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5. The New Government.

Under the conditions which prevailed in the provinces under Antonius, it was no easy task to re-organize a kingdom in which for the last thirty years all the various powers had been in confusion, and for the most part in open conflict with one another. Herod, nevertheless, succeeded in restoring the authority of his government.

After Antonius' most pressing demands had been satisfied, Herod made an inspection of the citizens of Jerusalem, and in so doing displayed a wonderful memory for individual offences or services. By a judicious distribution of honours and distinctions, he managed to bind the former adherents of his house yet more closely to himself, whilst by daily harassing all opposition elements, he speedily cowed them.[4] The powerful sheik of the Idumæans, Costobar, the king made governor of Gaza and Idumæa, in order to identify his interests with his own by giving him this prominent position upon the caravan-road.[5] For his more immediate neighbourhood, on the other hand, he sought out men who knew how to deal with Jewish peculiarities, and at the same time possessed the requisite Greek culture and political circumspection necessary for dealing with the ever-increasing complexity of the general state of affairs. There was a

[1] Bell. Jud. i. 11, 2; Antiq. xiv. 11, 2.
[2] Bell. Jud. i. 13, 9.
[3] Antiq. xiv. 15, 3; Bell. Jud. i. 15, 4.
[4] Antiq. xv. 1, 1; Bell. Jud. i. 18, 4.
[5] Antiq. xv. 7, 9.

whole circle of Jewish diplomatists who were employed by him with success in the most various foreign affairs. Such were Lysimachus and Gadias, whose surname was Antipater, Dositheus and Joseph, the superintendent of the finances.[1] In the army, in addition to Costobar, Achiabus, the cousin of the king, and the Ituræan Soemus, had the chief authority.[2] Amongst his foreign friends, again, there was the wealthy financier of Antioch, Saramalla, the most influential of all, whose caravans Herod was able to protect; while he, on the other hand, could make himself useful to the king by loans and his commercial connections.

Thus the government, with the exception of the military element obtained from abroad, presented an essentially national appearance. A Romano-Greek court would have been endured with the greatest possible unwillingness; and that Herod did not allow himself to be deceived upon this point, proves his anxiety to come to a good understanding with the chiefs of the Rabbinical schools. He desired that Rabbi Shemaiah, who had formerly caused Herod to be summoned to the bar of the Sanhedrin on account of the execution of Hezekiah, should be the first to assist him in his purpose. Taking his standpoint on the Pharisaic doctrine of predestination, Shemaiah had subsequently advised the surrender of Jerusalem, on the ground that God had manifestly decreed that Herod should be its ruler. In the same manner had his colleague Abtalion expressed himself in opposition to Antigonus. Herod bestowed mercy upon both; nevertheless, they regarded him only as the avenger decreed by Jehovah, and not as in any way being the legitimate king of Judah. Shemaiah, indeed, inculcated on his disciples that each should "Love work; and hate lordship, and make not thyself known to the government;"[3] while Abtalion taught his scholars in the synagogue: "Be wise, be guarded in your words; perchance ye may incur the debt of exile."[4] In this cold reserve did the Sanhedrin persevere; many places, moreover, had been rendered

[1] Antiq. xv. 7, 8.
[2] Antiq. xv. 6, 5.
[3] Pirqe Aboth, i. 11.
[4] Pirqe Aboth, i. 12.

vacant in it by the proscription.[1] When Herod desired the most prominent Rabbis to take an oath of allegiance, Shemaiah and Abtalion were the first to decline. It was of less importance that the Essenes also declined to take the oath. Herod respected their principles, and allowed one of their prophets, the revered Menahem, who had prophesied of Herod when a child that he would attain the crown, to come into the castle above the Xystus. The aged Essene, however, preserved a significant silence in answer to the questions of the king; only when Herod asked whether he should reign for ten years more, did he reply, Twenty, nay thirty; whereupon he was dismissed with honour.[2] With the Pharisees, also, Herod did not venture to come into open collision, but gradually deprived the Sanhedrin and schools of their participation in the administration of justice and in public affairs, and left them the settlement only of questions affecting the citizens as such, and public worship, the result of which action was, that under the government of Herod the schools, as such, produced their most brilliant results.[3]

The most difficult point, however, under the present circumstances, was the question whom the king should nominate as high-priest. Hyrcanus, who was still living upon the Euphrates, had become incapacitated by the mutilation he had experienced —the natural successor, however, Aristobulus, the brother-in-law of the king, was not yet of the prescribed age—Herod himself, as an Idumæan by birth, could not assume the dignity, for the assertion of Nicolaus, afterwards chancellor, that the king was descended from a Jewish family which had come out of Babylon into Idumæa, was believed by no one.[4] Since the Palestinian priests who were eligible were not to be trusted, Herod determined to appoint a stranger. A certain Rabbi Ananel of Babylon, recommended, it appears, to Herod by Saramalla, was, to the anger of the native aristocracy, made high-priest. These latter did not fail in finding, as soon as the Chaldean had entered

[1] Antiq. xiv. 9, 4, xv. 1, 1, 2.
[2] Antiq. xv. 10, 5.
[3] Grätz, Geschichte des Judenthums, iii. 146.
[4] Antiq. xiv. 1, 3.

upon his office, that he was utterly insignificant.[1] He did not long enjoy it, however; for Herod was keen-sighted enough to know that the life-long occupation of the high-priesthood would create a rivalry dangerous for his authority. He therefore established the policy, carefully observed by his successors and Rome, of never allowing a high-priest to become thoroughly established in his influential office, but by frequent changes reminding priests and people that the actual power was centered in the king.

This same wealthy financier of Antioch, Samaralla, removed another difficulty for Herod. The aged Hyrcanus was living in Babylon, honoured by the Jews there, and treated with leniency by the court of Ctesiphon. So long as the diaspora on the Euphrates regarded Hyrcanus as ethnarch and high-priest, Herod had to fear that in the next Parthian war he would find that his old friend had become a dangerous opponent. The astute measures of Saramalla's succeeded on the one hand in persuading Hyrcanus to return, and on the other in purchasing the necessary permission from the Parthian king Phraates for a considerable sum of money. Herod received the old man in Jerusalem with a joy which was accepted in all good faith by the unsuspecting Hyrcanus. The most immediate sources of danger were thus removed from Herod's path, but now that the turmoil of war was past and the chief of the necessary arrangements accomplished, had he to recognize how little was the position which he had obtained to be envied. The alliance with the Romans during the war had had its own peculiar bitterness, but now for Herod to behold his country sacrificed to the unappeasable avarice of the Egyptian harlot, just when he was beginning to be a king to his Jews, was simply unendurable.

Herod's position in relation to the Romans can only be compared to that of a man who seeks to enjoy the fruits of his crimes as an honest man, but is not given liberty to do so by his accomplices. More especially is he a remarkable example of the fact, that no one can escape the consequences of his deeds,

[1] Antiq. xv. 2, 4.

howsoever desirous he may be of so doing. He had on receiving the government at Rome, in order to express his gratitude for receiving the crown of David, sacrificed to Jupiter Capitolinus. This extraordinary celebration was symbolical of the contradiction which runs through the whole of his government. He would most gladly have ruled as a Jew, but his dominion had its origin in Rome. He knew that his people could only be won by respecting their law, but then this law condemned his position. He showed favour to the Rabbis, but their schools were his most determined opponents. Yet all these contradictions were as nothing compared to the confusion in life which his stealthily advancing ambition caused him in his own household. Had he founded as a usurper a new dynasty, at least his intimate associates would have been upon his side, and then certainly he would have had a party he could call his own. But he had deemed it more prudent to force himself as brother-in-law into the very family which he was thrusting from the throne, in order to spread a delusive appearance of legitimacy around himself. By these means he naturally did not reconcile those whom he had robbed, and only made his bitterest foes into relatives. Too late did he perceive that by his marriage with Mariamne he had founded his dominion upon the very title which was weakest. Every year a more and more alarming source of danger presented itself in his brother-in-law Aristobulus. He delivered himself by the usual means at that time—murder; but in so doing he only increased the complete unnaturalness of the entire relation. He had murdered the brother of the beloved wife in his arms, and yet had not cut the knot of his difficulty; for from this unnatural connection with the Maccabees were children born who were more legitimate than their father, and through their mother had a claim to the throne upon which he had no claim. Thus his striving after legitimacy had only occasioned that the very boys whom he fondled upon his knees, in their likeness to their mother and the physiognomy of the Maccabees, reiterated the old accusation that in spite of all he was yet only a robber.

Suspicion grinned him in the face in every corner; new crimes are the invariable consequences of old ones. He raged against his own flesh and blood, and made himself miserable as man in order to be secure as king, until at last he perished in the most awful collapse of soul and body.

From whatever germs apparently these awful results proceeded, yet their first origin dates from this period.

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6. The first Family Disputes.

All these tragedies had their origin in the same cause, namely, the recall of the aged Hyrcanus; for this at once raised the question, Why should not his office be transferred to his legitimate heir Aristobulus, the last of the Maccabees? Alexandra was grievously offended because her son was denied this his sole remaining right, and as a consequence she sowed dissension between her daughter and Herod. At last she had recourse by letter to Cleopatra, urging that Herod should be compelled at once to confer the high-priesthood upon his brother-in-law. In the year 36 B.C., before Antonius had undertaken his unfortunate expedition against the Parthians, there had appeared in Jerusalem one Quintus Dellius, a well-known intriguer of Antonius' suite, in order to transact certain business with Herod. Whilst he [illegible]ling his affairs with the king, Alexandra, unfortuna[illegible]rself, found an opportunity of explaining her desires t[illegible]e received him when the king's back was turned, [illegible]er he saw Aristobulus and the beautiful Mariamne. [illegible]ersons could not have fallen into worse hands. [illegible]promoted to honours and position by Antonius [illegible]forming the most ignoble services. This man, [illegible]ad indited one of his most charming odes, and [illegible] deep-stored cask of Falerian," interiore nota [illegible]d lewd letters to Cleopatra, had at an earlier

period acted as go-between for Antonius and the fair Egyptian;[1] and now, enchanted with the beauty of Mariamne, he intended to use her as a rival to the headstrong queen. He easily persuaded the vain mother to entrust him with portraits of her two children, which he was to take to Antonius in order to win his sympathy for Aristobulus.

The unmeasured descriptions of the beauty of the youth and the Jewish queen aroused in Antonius, who was yet lingering in Laodicea, so celebrated for its wines, a strong desire to see the brother and sister; but anxious to avoid the jealousy of Cleopatra, he confined himself to desiring Herod to send Aristobulus on a visit to him.

Herod was thoroughly alarmed at this message. He knew why Antonius desired boys to be sent to him, and was afraid that he would soon be compelled to transfer his throne also to the handsome youth: so he wrote back in reply, that were he to send Aristobulus it would inevitably cause an insurrection in Judæa. Antonius therefore had to yield; but Herod saw that now there was necessity for concession. He therefore deposed his high-priest Ananel, and conferred the office upon Aristobulus, who certainly was not yet of the legal age. Much as this change was acceptable to the Jews, yet they did not fail to remark that Herod had followed the example first set by Antiochus Epiphanes, and had deposed a high-priest in order to confer the office upon a boy.[2] Alexandra, however, had no such scruples. She determined to hold a family festival in order to celebrate their reconciliation after such bitter quarrels; but the jealousy of the king having been aroused, manifested itself by keeping a guard over them so dishonourable, that Alexandra determined with Aristobulus to fly to Cleopatra. The coffins in which they were to be smuggled through the city gates were already prepared when the plan was betrayed to Herod. The king did not

[1] Hor. Odes, ii. 3. Compare Plutarch, Anton. 25; compare also Dio Cass. l. 13, 23; Sen. Suas. i. 7.

[2] Antiq. xv. 3, 1.

venture to punish them, but formed a firm determination that on the next opportunity he would remove the youth out of his way, and thus render Alexandra also harmless. Its accomplishment was hastened; for at the feast of Tabernacles in the year 36, the Jews greeted their new high-priest with rejoicings which seemed very like a demonstration against Herod. Soon afterwards, Alexandra gave a party in the exquisite gardens of Jericho. As a sign of reconciliation, the king also appeared with his suite. After the banquet he began to play with Aristobulus; they grew warm, and Herod proposed a bath. Aristobulus assented. When he had descended into the fish-pool, the friends of Herod began joking with him; then they dived, and amidst cries of laughter and plashing they held him under the water until he was drowned.

Herod wept. All enveloped themselves in the deepest mourning. Even Alexandra and Mariamne refrained from expressing any doubt as to the sincerity of Herod's condolence, although both thirsted for vengeance. Herod, however, ever yearned for love from the wife whose only brother he had murdered, and the thought that perhaps, after all, she knew the truth, grievously tormented him. Meanwhile the two women had already petitioned Cleopatra for his punishment. The fair Ptolemæan feigned sympathy indeed, but her only care was to obtain possession of Palestine. It was a contest in dissimulation such as an Oriental alone could have conducted. The result of this secret warfare was, that Herod was summoned by Antonius to give an account of himself at Laodicea. The former gave orders concerning his own household in his own way in case of death, which, indeed, he believed that he went to meet; commanding his uncle and brother-in-law Joseph, the husband of his sister Salome, should he not return, at once to put Alexandra to death as a punishment, and also Mariamne, in order that she should not fall into the hands of Antonius. For his passionate jealousy could not endure the thought that another might possess his beautiful wife after him.

After Herod's departure, the aged Joseph considered himself called upon to try and incline Mariamne's heart once more towards her husband, and in his weak-minded foolishness thought it would be an excellent means for this purpose to tell her that Herod had determined not to lose her even in death, and so disclosed the nature of the last will and testament it was intended he should execute. Naturally she felt a two-fold abhorrence for the tyrant, and when he returned home from Laodicea, contrary to all expectation, acquitted, and rejoicing embraced her, she could no longer restrain pouring forth her thorough loathing towards him. She revealed in an hour her long-concealed hatred, and betrayed to him her knowledge of his last testament. This scene cost Joseph his life; for Herod, learning the disclosure of his secret, at once suspected the worst. Salome herself, who had long been wearied of her antiquated husband, had accused him of adultery. Alexandra, too, was thrown into chains. From Mariamne alone he could not separate himself. He loved her with all the passionatenes of which an Arab is capable, even now after he had murdered her brother and imprisoned her mother.

Meanwhile foreign affairs had once more thrust these domestic troubles into the background. Cleopatra had in the last conference at Laodicea disclosed her real intentions regarding Jewish concerns. It was by no means her intention to reinstate the Maccabees. She desired herself to possess the Syro-Phœnician and Arabian territories bordering on Egypt, and to this end Antonius was to depose their sovereigns. Herod and Malichus stood the first upon her list, and Lysanias, the sovereign of the principalities of Lebanon, was really sacrificed to her. Antonius put him to death on the plea that he was conspiring with the Parthians. His whole domain was given to Cleopatra. She leased the territory to Zenodorus, the tyrant of Paneas and Ulatha, who in a short time again collected highwaymen and pirates together, and seized upon caravans and merchant ships.[1] But even this act of oppression was not so dangerous to Herod as

[1] Cass. Dio, 49, 32; Antiq. xv. 10, 1; compare the account on page 62.

the fact that now he was placed between the domains of the Egyptian queen, and had to expect redoubled attempts upon his kingdom.

The autumn of the year 36 brought new dangers even more prominently to the foreground. Artavasdes, king of Armenia, Antonius' ally against the Parthians, had, partly from an understanding with them, and partly in alliance with Octavianus,[1] brought the eastern army to the brink of utter destruction. As its guide, he had led it by the longest and most inaccessible paths, and then left the exhausted legions a prey to the Parthians before the capital of Media.

Antonius was compelled to begin a retreat towards the Arasces just as winter was commencing. Had it not been for the advice of a veteran of Crassus' army, he would have met the latter's fate in the plains; as it was, he took his line of march through the mountains. The Parthians rendered the roads impassable by flooding them or blocking them up, filling up the springs and wells, and destroying all means of provision and shelter. Their squadrons of cavalry some fifty thousand strong swarmed around the unfortunate army, which seemed doomed to destruction, before, behind, and on both flanks, compelling it to march in order of battle and fighting its way, and often only able to protect itself against the hostile hail of arrows by forming a testudo. As a dark thunder-cloud did the fate of Crassus hang over the soldiers to quell their courage, who, harassed day and night by the barbarians, without provisions, often without water, marched along the route of the ten thousand of Xenophon, strewing their path with the wounded and exhausted, to whose sufferings the Parthian daggers put a speedy end. Fresh circuits had constantly to be made in order to avoid the plains, until at last, after a march of more than three hundred and sixty miles, they arrived at the Arasces. The retreat had occupied more than twenty-seven days, and cost twenty-four thousand men and the entire train. With alarm a fresh invasion of the Parthians was

[1] Cass. Dio, 49, 41.

expected in Syria, but for the present they remained on the Arasces. With a slender escort, Antonius rode from Antioch, whither he had led the remains of his army, to Leuce Come, where he had appointed to meet Cleopatra. With indignation it was perceived that, without waiting to re-organize his army, without having punished the Armenian traitor, he took ship for Egypt with the queen.

The pitiable man had now completely fallen into her hands, and could seldom urge any objection to her desires. The first result was, that the Arabian king Malchus had to surrender part of the district of Nabatæa to her.[1] Then she asked for the whole line of Phœnician coast from the river Eleutherus to Egypt, in order that she might have a land passage to Cœle-Syria. Sidon and Tyre alone remained free. At last Herod was compelled to yield the oasis of Jericho and its balsam gardens.[2] This cut him to the quick. It was his best possession;[3] but Antonius gave it her, and the king had to bear it in silence. In gratitude Cleopatra accompanied her hero in his expedition against Artavasdes as far as the Euphrates, and then returned by Apamea and Damascus, arriving at this latter place towards the end of the year 35.

On the frontiers of Judæa, Herod humbly went to meet her, and accompanied her to what was now her Jericho. As it was her custom to lease the districts which she had annexed, the king made use of this opportunity for leasing his own lands from her again. This serious condition, however, was attached, that he must be surety for the Nabatæan Malchus, who at the same time obtained a lease of his territories. In other respects also she was a serious trouble to Herod during Antonius' absence. Week after week she remained in Jericho, and compelled the king to remain at her side, until her conduct towards him became so significant, that Herod, who on his side was not captivated, consulted with his friends whether he should proceed with the

[1] Bell. Jud. i. 20, 3; Antiq. xv. 4, 1. [2] Antiq. xv. 4, 1; Cass. Dio, 49, 32.
[3] Proverbially so; compare Horace, Epistles, ii. 2, 183; Strabo, 16, 2.

intrigue, or stifle her in their first interview. His fear of Antonius, however, prevented him taking either course. Meanwhile Antonius' last measures towards Herod in summoning him to Laodicea and taking Jericho from him, were interpreted by his enemies as a sign that the king's relations with Antonius were less friendly than before, and consequently opposition to him suddenly sprang forth on every side. After the execution of Joseph, he had married the youthful widow to Costobar, the Idumæan prince, who none the less conspired against him with Cleopatra, hoping by her agency to obtain supremacy over Idumæa.[1] Even the Maccabean disturbances began again, for a sister of Antigonus set on foot an insurrection from the castle of Hyrcania, which could only be subdued shortly before the outbreak of the war at Actium.[2]

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7. Condition of Affairs at Home.

The narrative of Josephus in his Antiquities jumps from the year 34 B.C., when Antonius took the traitor Artavasdes a prisoner by treachery, to the year 31, to the battle of Actium.[3]

Incidental accounts, however, give us a reliable narrative of events meanwhile. Herod regarded the ever fresh division of territory in Alexandria with great caution, fearing lest he should lose his throne and life. He took great pains in order to ensure that the tribute due from the Arabians should be paid to the Egyptian queen. He kept watch over his brother-in-law Costobar, who had amassed great wealth in order to purchase Idumæa from Cleopatra, to whom it did not belong. The thought, too, harassed him that the Egyptian queen might lend her aid to the Maccabean party in his country, in which case he might expect a general rising of the people. He consequently collected in his inaccessible fortress of Masada on the Dead Sea, large supplies of arms, provisions and raw materials, so that in case of

[1] Antiq. xv. 7, 9. [2] Bell. Jud. i. 19, 1. [3] Antiq. xv. 4, 3; 5, 1.

this event he might at least be able to keep one rock in the land.[1] Whilst the king was thus crippled, and had to avoid every disturbance of the people, nay, especially every cause for Cleopatra's interference, the schools were enabled once more boldly to expand their wings. Shemaiah and Abtalion had both departed from the scene. The chief of the Sanhedrin had then been that Menahem whom Herod had formerly treated with honour as a prophet. The Essene, however, soon grown weary of practical details, had returned to his solitude for the purpose of attaching himself to a stricter sect of his order.[2] A successor for the contemplative Essene had been found in Shammai, a Pharisee, who upheld a very strict and even extreme observance of the law. Whilst he was insisting upon the performance of all the Pharisaic refinements of the law, his future successor, the representative of a milder interpretation, the Babylonian Hillel, found followers even in Jerusalem. A disciple of Shemaiah and Abtalion, he had earned the means as a day-labourer of paying his master for a place in his lecture-room, and was one of the most loyal scholars of the great Rabbis.[3] He was with Menahem a member of the Sanhedrin before Shammai, although at first he did not take a prominent position. In appearance as well as doctrine was he the express contrast to the sharp-featured and passionate Shammai. The Talmud gives many instances in illustration of this contrast. A foreigner came to Shammai and said, "Make me one of your proselytes; but you must teach me your whole doctrine whilst I stand upon one leg!" Shammai fell into a passion, and threatened lifting the staff which he held in his hand, and hunted him from his presence. The impudent fellow went to Hillel, and made the same demand to him. He said, "I will teach thee the law in one word. That which is unpleasing to thee, do not to thy neighbour; that is the whole law, and all the rest is but its exposition. This must thou do."[4] Another offered to become a proselyte if he could become high-

[1] Bell. Jud. vii. 8, 4.
[2] Chagiga, 2, 2, in Grätz, iii. 178.
[3] Sota, 21 a.
[4] Shabhath, 31 a.

priest. Shammai rebuked him; Hillel said, "Let us try." Thus bets were made as to the possibility of making Hillel angry, and lost. Two men—so the Talmud relates—made a bet of four hundred pence as to which could put Hillel into a passion. It was the afternoon before the Sabbath, and Hillel was busy with his preparations for the festival. At this unseasonable hour, and without giving him his title Rabbi, one of them called into his house, "Is Hillel there?" He at once put on his mantle, went out and said, "What do you want, my son?" "I have a question to ask you," said the fellow. "What is it?" replied the Babylonian. "Why," he asks, "have the Babylonians such ugly round heads?" "My son, your question is a weighty one: for this reason, because their midwives are so unskilful." Hillel returned to his labours, when the disturber of his rest again appeared. This time his question is, "Why have the Thermudians such small narrow eyes?" Thus it proceeds, the questions becoming more and more silly, but inasmuch as the man cannot make Hillel lose his patience, he loses his wager. So great was Hillel's gentleness. When Shammai received any benefit in the middle of the week, he said, "This is for the Sabbath;" while Hillel praised God because He adorned every day with benefits. In his well-intentioned endeavour to mitigate the rigour of many of the precepts by his interpretations of them, Hillel founded those rules of exposition out of which the Rabbis subsequently developed their hair-splitting methods of syllogistic reasoning. Shammai, on the other hand, insisted strictly upon the very letter of the written word, and would have it neither twisted nor mitigated. Thus he forbade a letter to be despatched after the beginning of the third day of the week, for fear that by any chance it should arrive upon the Sabbath. The entire week was occupied by him in preparing for the Sabbath, upon which he would not allow even a pot to be moved from one place to another. It was said of him that in the feast of Tabernacles he insisted that his wife should pass her confinement under the open sky, and that the unweaned infant should share in the fast

upon the day of atonement.[1] Be this as it may, the less rigorous Hillel gradually overshadowed Shammai, and finally took the first place in the Sanhedrin.

His occasion of doing this was as follows. In the year 30, the day previous to the Passover happened to be a Sabbath, and the Sanhedrin, whose duty it was to settle the feast, could not come to a decision as to whether the Sabbath took precedence of the day of preparation, or the day of preparation of the Sabbath. Hillel, by appealing to his teachers Shemaiah and Abtalion, carried the latter view. When it is remembered that each of the teachers had held long controversies on the question whether an egg laid upon the Sabbath might be eaten, because according to Exodus xvi. 5, no food was to be considered clean which had been prepared upon the Sabbath instead of upon the day before the Sabbath, the significance of this victory can be estimated. A complete renovation of the Sanhedrin was the result, and Hillel now proceeded to thorough reforms in other directions.

His next attempt was the abolition of the year of release.[2] It had been originally, for an agricultural people whose relations were primitive, a most humane institution; but now, owing to the increase of commerce, it was the ruin of credit and industry, and instead of aiding the poor it deprived them of all help. It is certain that this law could never have been observed in its entirety; still Hillel did not venture to at once abolish it, but in a genuinely Rabbinical method devised the solution, that claims which were not to lapse with the seventh year must be entered before the elders of the town, who then reclaimed the debt in the interest of the creditor, so that he had no necessity himself to exceed the law. Whilst Hillel thus practically abolished the year of release, on the other hand he renewed the regulations as to the rights of re-purchase. According to Jewish custom, every

[1] Passages in Grätz, iii. 178, 179; Derenbourg, as before, 178, 190; Delitzsch, Jesus and Hillel, p. 33.

[2] Deuteronomy xv. 1.

sale of property became completed only after the new year; until then, the seller had the right of re-purchase. Many a purchaser, therefore, used to make himself invisible on the last day of the year, and then, according to the letter of the law, he could not be held bound to restore his purchase. Here, also, Hillel effected that there should be an interposition of the authorities. So, with similar care, did he modify the regulation that only priests could pronounce those cured of leprosy clean. Generally his interpretations of the law had the purpose of making antiquated regulations which were no longer applicable harmless by the method of explanation, to which end his Sheba Midot, the seven rules of interpretation, gave him thorough help.[1]

We are not informed what sort of notice Herod took of these legislative reforms, but at this moment he was so absorbed by the development of real politics, that he had to prevent any rupture with the schools at any price. Separate attempts at greater intimacy with the spokesmen of the synagogue are reported to have been made. Not only for Menahem, but also for Abtalion and Shemaiah, did the king show his respect; and the Talmud expressly states that Rabbi Baba ben Bouta, at enmity with the school of Hillel, occasionally acted as his confessor.[2] At times the king was so deceived as to the width of the chasm which separated him from the sympathies of the people, that he allowed his chancellor, Nicolaus of Damascus, to issue the genealogical statement that his family did not trace its descent from Edom, but from the first colony of Zerubbabel which returned from Babylon.[3] Labour in vain! He was and remained to Israel the Roman procurator whom the schools hated with a two-fold hatred because he proclaimed himself to be the successor of David and the Maccabees.

[1] Compare Grätz, Geschichte der Juden, iii. 172; Derenbourg, Pal. apr. les Thalmud, p. 186.

[2] Baba-bathra, 3 b; Derenbourg, Pal. 154.

[3] Antiq. xiv. 1, 3; Eusebius, Hist. Ecc. i. 7; compare Pesachim, 62 b, in Herzfeld, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, i. 137.

8. The last Days of Antonius.

The proceedings of the court at Alexandria, after the year 34, assumed a character which was to be interpreted no longer as the outcome of the neglect of every duty and personal dissoluteness of the triumvir, but as schemes of deepest political significance of the queen.

It seemed as though genuine attempts were being made to bring the Roman empire in the East under Egyptian dominion; for Antonius, after his expedition against Artavasdes, conducted himself, not as a Roman Imperator, but as King of Egypt. His first step in this direction was the celebration of his triumph, not in Rome, but in Alexandria; he entitled Cleopatra the Queen of Kings, and bestowed Syria and Asia Citerior upon the young Ptolemæus, Cyrenaica upon the little Cleopatra, and Armenia upon Alexander, the three children whom the queen had borne him. After the manner of the Pharaohs, which the Lagides were following, Cleopatra and Antonius allowed divine honours to be paid them—Cleopatra as Isis, and Antonius as Osiris—and their statues were set up in consecrated places.[1] It seemed as though Jupiter Capitolinus would have to give place to the Egyptian Osiris.

This theme was treated in a thousand different ways by the troop of poets which Octavianus had even then collected around him. Propertius at a later period well expresses the general sentiment.[2]

[1] Dio, 50, 5; Vellei, ii. 82.

[2] Scilicet incesti meretrix regina Canopi
(Una Philippeo sanguine inusta nota)
Ausa Jovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim,
Et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas;
Romanamque tubam crepitanti pellere sistro,
Baridos et contis rostra Liburna sequi;
Prop. Eleg. iii. xi. 39—44. So also Ovid, Metam. xv. 827:
"... frustraque erit illa minata,
Servitura suo Capitolia nostra Canopo!"
Compare Horace, Odes, i. 27.

Thus the feeling in Rome at the outbreak of the war which ended in Actium, was with the prudent Octavianus and against the imprudent Antonius. That an honourable purpose should be manifested in the East for the government of the last few years was not to be expected, and none felt this more than Herod, who must have heartily desired the downfall of the queen. Costobar, his brother-in-law, and governor in Idumæa, even at that time made proposals, through embassies, to Cleopatra for the union of his province with Egypt, without Herod's daring to punish him for it; but the queen demanded, on the other hand, that this frontier province should be ceded directly to her as an ancient possession of the Ptolemæans, a demand which Herod under other circumstances would not have been able to withstand.[1] At the same time, he found that it would be necessary for him to make preparations for a war against the Arabians; for Malchus remained from year to year in arrears with the tribute for the provinces which had been granted to him again, and Herod, who was his surety, was consequently compelled to pay the rent for the Arabians. Nevertheless, when, in the year 32, the senate declared war against Cleopatra, the queen benefited him by excluding him from any participation in the expedition against Octavianus. For intending afterwards to obtain possession of his territories, she did not desire that he should any further ingratiate himself with Antonius, near whom also she could not endure that one of her most pronounced opponents should be tolerated.[2] So Herod received the commission to prosecute his war against Malchus, in which Cleopatra must gain, whether the Arabian or Herod were the conquered. This was one of those perverse measures of which the queen carried so many at head-quarters, and by which she compelled the more prudent of the followers of Antonius to hasten one after the other to the camp of Octavianus.[3] Herod, for his own part, was well content with the task assigned him. Whilst

[1] Antiq. xv. 7, 9. [2] Antiq. xv. 5, 1; Bell. Jud. i. 19, 1.

[3] Plutarch, Antonius, 56, 58; Dio, 50, 15.

Antonius in Asia Minor drew up his army, he was able to confine himself to skirmishing with the Arabians. After several previous engagements, the first severe contest took place, contrary to his desire, at Canatha. Herod had already defeated the sons of the desert and put them to flight, when the commander of the Egyptian auxiliaries treacherously surrendered the wing under his charge, so that the Jews saw themselves suddenly threatened by an attack of the garrison of Canatha, and suffered a great defeat, in which nearly the whole of the cavalry was destroyed. Herod was now compelled to confine himself to holding the enemy in check by daring sallies, by which he at least prevented an invasion of his own territory. Then it happened, whilst Antonius was experiencing his defeat at Actium, that such an awful earthquake took place in Palestine, that in the whole country nearly ten thousand human beings, a great part of the cattle, and a multitude of villages and individual houses, were destroyed. Herod now wished to conclude peace, but the Arabians seized this opportunity occasioned by his distress for a fresh attack. At the fortress of Dagon, not far from Jericho, the cavalry of both sides skirmished with each other for some time; at length Herod compelled the Bedouins to take the field, and defeated them. Then with his usual energy he followed on their heels, cut off the passes, and forced the troops, suffering from want of water and provisions, to surrender.

On his return home, however, the course of the Roman civil war demanded his whole attention, for it was evident that Antonius would now summon his reserves. In Egypt great despondency prevailed.[1] The fleet of Antonius, deserted by its commander, had been destroyed at Actium on the 2nd of September, 31 B.C. When Antonius entered Alexandria, he found Cleopatra busily employed in cooling the ardour of the opposition offered by her nobles by letting their blood

[1] Compare Virgil, Æneid, viii. 711:

Contra autem magno mærentem corpore Nilum,
Pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
Cæruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina victos.

flow. Octavianus had taken up his winter quarters in Samos, and there received the petitions for an amnesty made by the governments of Asia Minor. At the court of Alexandria, every post brought news of fresh desertions. Quintus Didius, proconsul of Syria, set the example, and all the petty sovereigns of Galatia and Cilicia followed it. The defection was now close to the frontiers of Herod. Upon him Antonius calculated with perfect certainty. He despatched one of Cleopatra's Greek-literati, Alexander of Laodicea, to him, in order that he might come to a full understanding with him; but Alexander, rejoicing to have escaped from Alexandria himself in such a capital way, advised Herod, on the contrary, to make his peace as expeditiously as possible with Octavianus.[1]

An opportunity soon presented itself. The gladiators of Antonius, in attempting to fight their way through from their barracks at Cyzicus to their master in Egypt, had been surrounded at Daphne by Quintus Didius. Herod at once hastened to forbid them passing through his territory, and consequently compelled them to surrender.[2] When Antonius received this intelligence, he gave up all thoughts of further opposition, and quitting his lonely villa in the Isle of Pharos, where, listening to the beating of the waves upon the strand, he had brooded over most adventurous plans of retrieving his fortunes, he hastened to the royal palace of the Lagides, in order that he might numb all thought in maddening revels. His fellow-carousers called themselves companions in death, and in their orgies under the queen's guidance tried which was the easiest kind of death, by means of experiments with poison on the prisoners. The Jews of Alexandria were also made to feel the rage of the queen at the defection of the Idumæan.[3] It is characteristic of the good-natured Antonius' little knowledge of men, that the desertion of Herod came upon him as a great surprise, and that he had held this man as his last card, with which he now lost all.

[1] Plut. Antonius, 72.

[2] Bell. Jud. i. 20, 2; Plut. Ant. 71, 72.

[3] Jos. c. Apion, ii. 5.

Octavianus, who had been partly engaged during the winter with Italian affairs, came in the spring of the year 30 to Corinth, in order thence to join his legions in Syria.[1] He travelled through Rhodes. In Palestine, all were anxious to learn what would be his conduct towards Herod. The situation of the latter was now critical enough; all his former enemies were once more on foot to make use of his difficulties. Alexandra especially, never tired of conspiracy, now thought there was an opportunity of taking vengeance on her son-in-law for the death of her own child. She persuaded the aged Hyrcanus to sign a request to king Malchus to send him an escort to conduct him in safety by the Dead Sea into Arabia; there he would await the development of affairs. When the plan was betrayed, even Hyrcanus, old man as he was, was compelled to lay his head upon the block. Thus fell the son of Alexander Jannæus, after he had outlived all of his own generation. He was more than eighty years old, and was to the Jews an old antiquated memorial which had come down to them from the times of the Maccabees. There seemed a special barbarity in Herod's putting an old man to death, who in the course of nature must have met his end in a few years.[2] But meanwhile the king was unwilling to leave any legitimate successor of the ancient royal house at this critical moment. Had he determined at the same time to strike off the head of Alexandra, ever full of plots, it might perhaps have saved him shedding so much blood afterwards. Previous to appearing before Octavianus, he distributed the ladies of his family among various fortresses, because the Maccabean princesses could not agree with his relatives. His brother Pheroras he appointed regent. In case he should be unfortunate, he ordered Alexandra and Mariamne to be put to death, so that the crown should at least remain in his family. Then he hastened to Rhodes.

There is something almost absurd in noting how this Jew, who was scarcely forty years old, and had with his father already deserted Pompeius for Cæsar, Cæsar for Cassius, and Cas-

[1] Dio, 51, 4.

[2] Antiq. xv. 6, 2, 3.

sius for Antonius, now played the part of the high-minded friend of the defeated Antonius, who had remained true to him so long as it was possible to be of any service, and now piously committed his cause to the gods. Octavianus ended this shameful scene by remarking, in his own peculiar manner, that he had learned with pleasure from a communication of Quintus Didius the services which Herod had rendered in disarming the gladiators of Antonius, and that his well-known inclination to the Romans would be willingly accepted as a pledge of his future loyal behaviour.

Although Octavianus had grounds for not rejecting the serviceable partizan, yet Herod mistook the feelings of the young Cæsar altogether when, presuming on this freshly-formed friendship, he ventured to beg for the pardon of Alexander of Laodicea, who had persuaded him to desert Antonius. Alexander was one of the agents of Cleopatra, and with all who had done Octavianus wanton harm must die.

Octavianus went from Rhodes to Syria, and Herod to Palestine, in order to make most elaborate preparations for the contest with the hated Egyptian queen. For the necessary march through Idumæa, where water was exceptionally scarce, the king made careful provision, regardless of expense. A hundred and fifty well-mounted and handsomely-clothed orderlies were appointed to assist the Roman generals, so that all necessaries might be provided as quickly as possible. In Ptolemais the king received the Imperator himself, in order that he might be suitably entertained. In the review of the army, Herod was permitted to ride by his side, and the soldiers, who had already begun to regard the king's care in providing proper provisions and ample supplies of water and wine upon the march, swore by all that was most sacred that such a king deserved a yet greater kingdom, for never yet had the legions been so treated.

The campaign was short. Pelusium fell at once into Octavianus' hands, owing to Cleopatra's treachery.[1] The more, how-

[1] Dio, 51, 9.

ever, were people alarmed lest even Cæsar should not be able to escape the influence of the fair Egyptian's charms. The superstition as to the power of her beauty and her witchcraft was so great, that this issue was really expected in Alexandria and Rome, when the news of the queen's death was received. She had chosen the poisonous bite of the asp as the easiest death. The world took breath again when it heard that the bewitching woman was really dead.

If Horace on receipt of this news took for his drinking-song,

> "Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
> Pulsanda tellus!"[1] . . . . .

so Herod, in similar mood, would be relieved by the intelligence that he never had anything more to fear from this neighbour. It yet remained questionable, however, whether Octavianus, in the arrangements proposed for the East, would find room for a man who had so long been so intimate with Antonius. But Octavianus was far too much of a statesman to be influenced by any such purely personal considerations. Here, between Egypt, Arabia and Syria, whose rulers were only too ready to conspire with the Parthians, there was great need of a stanch and cautious friend to Rome; and this was the reason why, in the arrangements of the year 30, everything was so favourable for Herod. The king received back the territory of Jericho, with all the surrounding districts which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, and in addition the maritime towns of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Straton's tower, which Antonius had bestowed upon Cleopatra. Samaria, which hitherto Herod had administered in the name of the Syrian proconsul, was incorporated with his kingdom. Gadara and Hippos, with the adjoining district of the Decapolis, fell to him at the same time, so that the territories of the Maccabean crown were once more united.[2] The body-guard of Cleopatra, consisting of four hundred Gauls, were also presented to the king by the Imperator—a gift well suited to enhance the splendour of the royal palace on Zion.

[1] Horace, Odes, i. 37.

[2] Bell. Jud. i. 20, 3.

The king had once more the costly task of providing for the march of the Romans through Syria, and of offering the customary tribute to the Imperator as a present. The Romans left him with the conviction that he had overstrained his resources.

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9. Mariamne.

Once more had the adroit man escaped from storms which would have proved fatal to the majority of his fellows.

Upon his return home, however, he found all the contradictory elements which he had brought together into his family life flourishing, as though sprung from a crop of dragons' teeth, and the affairs of his seraglio were in a confusion which brought him speedily to a state bordering on madness.

Of the Maccabean family after the death of Hyrcanus, only Alexandra and her daughter Mariamne were now left. The more isolated these two ladies were, the more were they hated by the Idumæan relatives whose common origin Mariamne treated with royal disdain. Confident in her beauty and the blind passion of her husband, of lofty, noble stature,[1] she had made Salome especially, who boasted of her influence over the king, feel her pride as the king's daughter. During the women's war which was carried on during the many months' absence of the king, Mariamne had once more learned that the king had assigned her and her mother to death in case he perished; consequently she received the tender greetings of her husband on his return with an unconcealed scorn which cut him to the quick. Salome fanned the flames. Women's tales of every kind were brought to him, of how Mariamne had an intrigue with the Ituræan Soëm, how she had formerly sent her portrait to the amorous Antonius, how she had prepared love-potions, how she had coaxed the royal secret from her guardian; everything was brought to

[1] Antiq. xv. 2, 5.

him with the worst construction possible, and on every opportunity the king's suspicions were aroused. At last Herod was persuaded of her faithlessness, and, trusting to his rage, the judges to whom in his indecision he had entrusted the verdict, ventured to pronounce judgment of death upon her. Even Alexandra, in her excessive terror and barbarity, renounced her child, and Salome zealously strove that the sentence might be carried into execution. The beautiful queen, deserted and betrayed by all, met death with true dignity in the year 29.

Scarcely, however, had her head fallen, when the heart of the tyrant was smitten with a maddening remorse. He wandered about the palace seeking her, and commanded his servants to call the queen as though she were yet alive. At last he fled from Jerusalem, in order that he might ramble by himself in the forests of Samaria, nominally that he might hunt. There he was seized by a fever, and in the town of Samaria, where once he had celebrated his marriage with Mariamne, he was hopelessly prostrated. He was thought to be mad, and few hopes were entertained of his recovery. It is scarcely possible to help suspecting that at this time the first symptoms of that mental affection were manifested which afterwards obscured the reason of this once so genial man with such fatal results.[1]

His enemies rejoiced. He had now come to a position in which he dared no longer be sick. Too many stood upon the watch to thrust their deadly weapons at him the moment he presented an opportunity. Alexandra—this Niobe who had beheld all her family perish— was yet living, and her hatred towards the tyrant was all the more bitter because she had to remember with ever growing self-contempt the day when she had renounced and ill-treated her own child in the court. Scarcely had she heard of the condition of her enemy when she attempted to obtain possession of the two fortresses, Baris and Mount Zion, in order to assure the crown for her two grand-

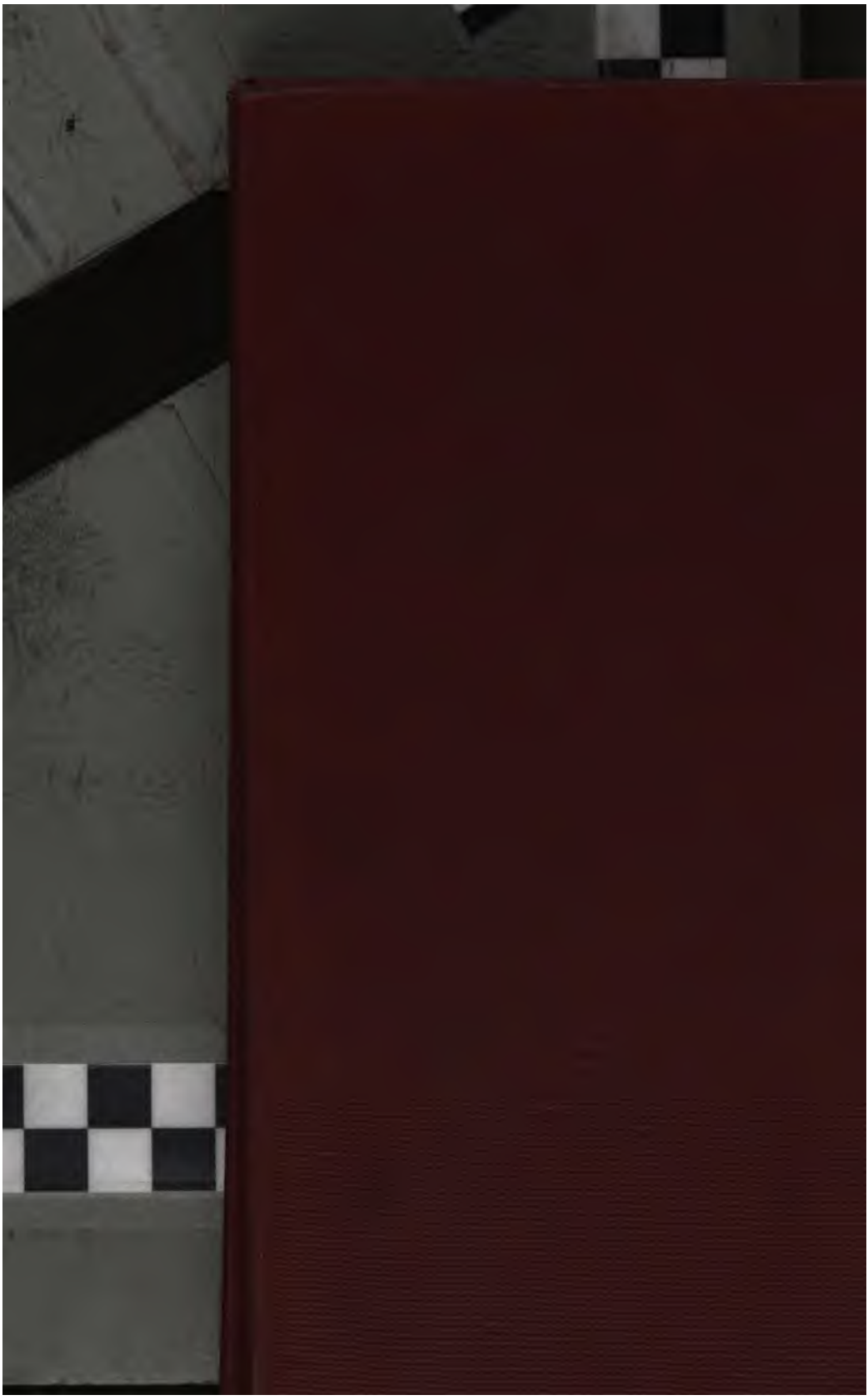
[1] Antiq. xv. 7, 7: Φλόγωσις γὰρ ἦν καὶ πεῖσις τοῦ ἰνίου καὶ τῆς διανοίας παραλλαγή.

children, who inherited the title of the Maccabees through Mariamne. Simultaneously, the Rabbis instilled into the people that the pest then raging was a punishment for the death of the noble queen. When the sick tiger heard of these preparations, he arose. He was still suffering extremely, but he hastened to Jerusalem, put Alexandra to death, and began to rage against both friend and foe. Even the governor of Idumæa now fell a victim to his long-concealed hatred. Salome, who had escaped from her husband, confessed that all these years he had concealed the sons of Babas, whom the king had in vain sought for from the very commencement of his reign. They were executed, with their protector Costobar, as being the last representatives of the fallen royal house. Two courtiers from Herod's personal suite shared their fate at the same time, because Salome declared they were participators in the crime of her husband. But the last revolt "in favour of the grandchildren of the Maccabees," had already called into existence a new source of jealousy for him. Were not his own sons Maccabeans through their mother? His madness was awakened on the point of this testament of Alexandra. She, by her proclamation, had made his own children pretenders to his crown, and the schools of the Rabbis were already discussing the significant question, whether the water current remained pure which connected a clean vessel with an unclean one.[1] With a similar reference, the question of the law of inheritance was debated, whether the daughter of the son had a prior claim to the father's daughter; so that in this case the crown of the Asmoneans had not passed at all through Mariamne to Herod, but descended properly to some female grandchildren of Aristobulus.[2] So thoroughly were these questions debated, that the later Rabbis have invented a complete legend about Herod, "the slave of the house of the Asmoneans," who slew the relatives of the lovely child of the Asmoneans, and then desired to marry her in order to obtain a son's right in the house. But Mariamne throws herself down from the roof of

[1] Jad. 4, 7. [2] Jad. 2; Bell. Jud. i. 9, 2; 19, 1.

the castle over the precipice, and thus escapes the king, who now in his insane passion preserves her body in honey, and insists upon believing that she is still alive and his wife.[1]

When the Pharisees, on the other hand, determined that it was an advantage for an unclean person to be descended from a clean one, it was well understood what was meant by the simile, and according to their sympathies sided with the children of Mariamne as against the other princes born of the other wives of Herod. But with this new jealousy, fresh misery was created for Herod.

[1] Baba-bathra, 3 b.

Printed by C. Green & Son, 178, Strand.